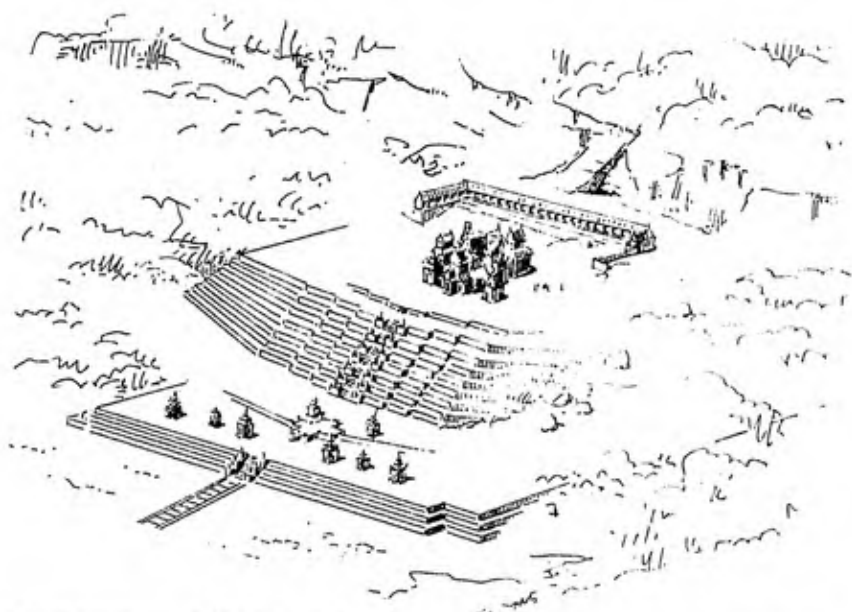


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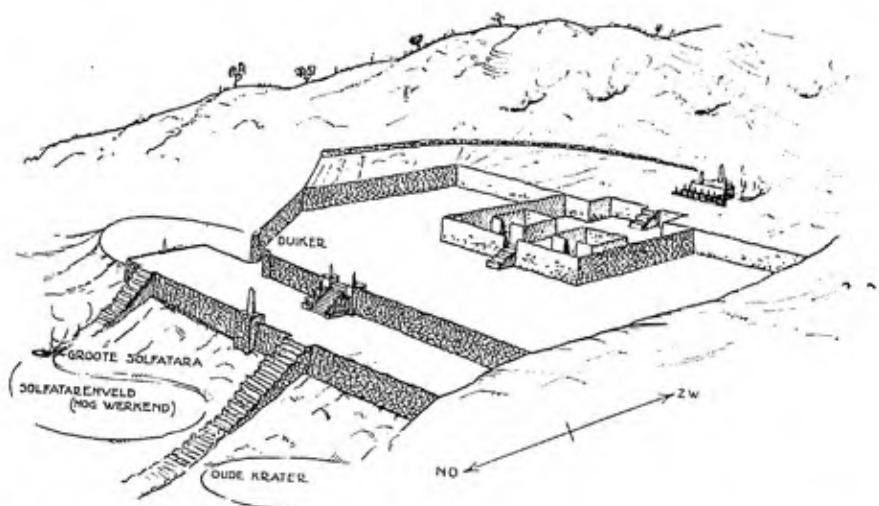
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THE MAKING OF GREATER INDIA



Khmer sanctuary of Wat Phu, Indochina (After H. Parmentier, by permission of the *École Française d'Extrême Orient*.)



Megalithic sanctuary on Yang plateau, Java (After De Jong, by permission of Messrs. *E. J. Brill, Leiden*.)

THE MAKING OF GREATER INDIA

A STUDY IN SOUTH-EAST ASIAN
CULTURE CHANGE

By

H. G. QUARITCH WALES, Ph.D., Litt.D.

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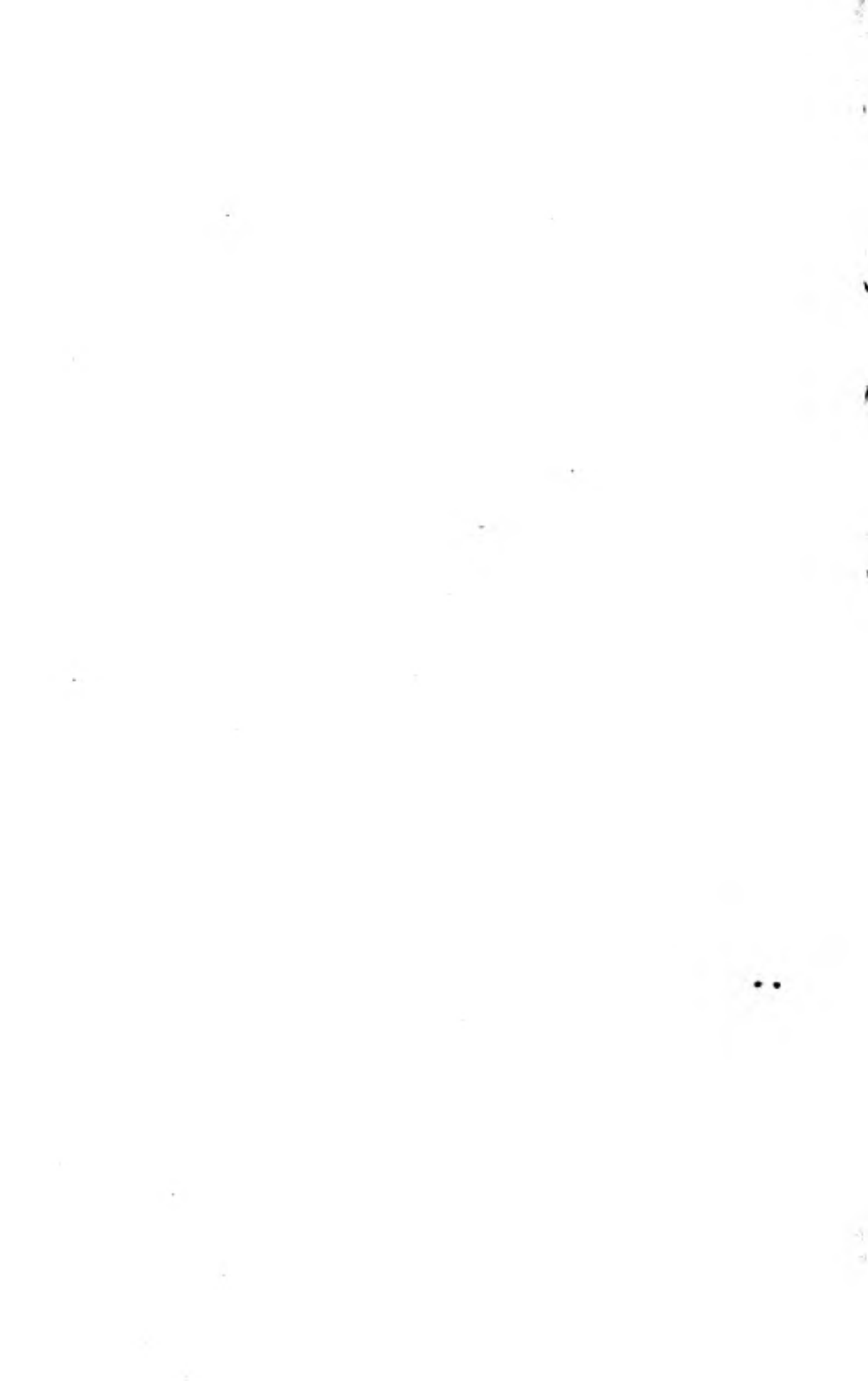
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PREFACE

The virtual standstill to which field work has been brought by the unsettled conditions prevailing in South-east Asia in recent years has had one compensation : it has allowed students of the region to come abreast with the new knowledge that was accumulating so rapidly during the decade before the war and, it may be, to acquaint themselves with advances made by sciences outside, though related to, their own particular fields. Thus equipped one should certainly be in a better position to undertake that approach on a wider front which, it has seemed to me, is most likely to lead to success in reducing some of the larger outstanding problems in South-east Asian studies. It is along these lines, with reference to one such major problem, that I have been working since the war, with results that are here presented.

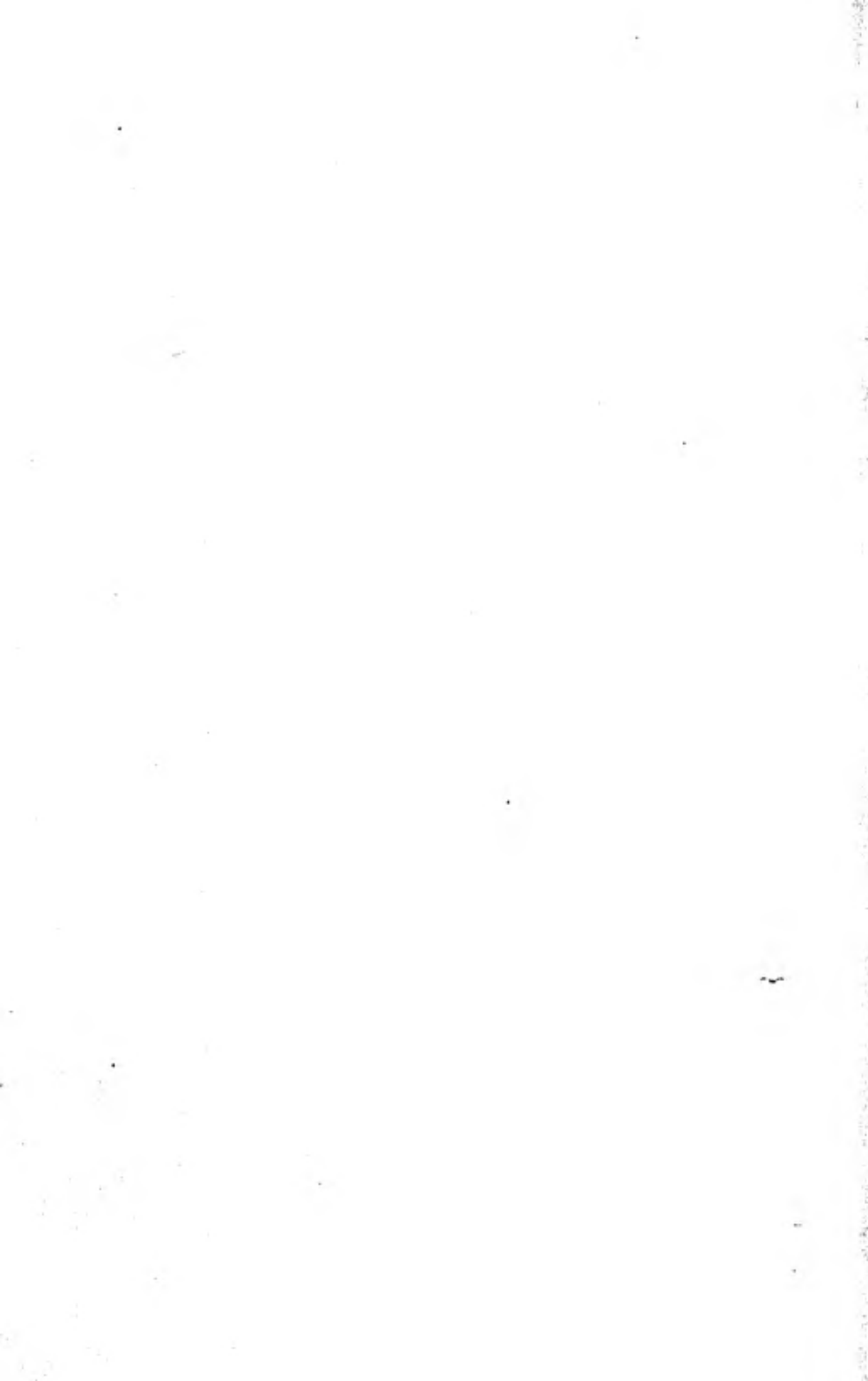
My indebtedness to the researches of French and Dutch scholars for much of the basic data that I use will be evident. But in the field of protohistory I owe most to Professor R. Heine-Geldern, not only for his published work, but also for information he kindly gave me during conversations I had with him in New York, and in the course of correspondence. My wife, who shared my field work throughout, has been of constant help.

H. G. Q. W.



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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ABIA :</i>	<i>Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology.</i>
<i>BEFEO :</i>	<i>Bulletin de L'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.</i>
<i>Bijdragen :</i>	<i>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie.</i>
<i>CJS :</i>	<i>Ceylon Journal of Science.</i>
<i>I. A. & L. :</i>	<i>Indian Art and Letters.</i>
<i>JGIS :</i>	<i>Journal of the Greater India Society.</i>
<i>JISOA :</i>	<i>Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.</i>
<i>JRAS :</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
<i>JRASMB :</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch.</i>
<i>JSS :</i>	<i>Journal of the Siam Society.</i>
<i>MASC :</i>	<i>Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of Ceylon.</i>
<i>MASI :</i>	<i>Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India.</i>
<i>OV :</i>	<i>Oudheidkundig Verslag.</i>
<i>RAA :</i>	<i>Revue des Arts Asiatiques.</i>
<i>Tijd. :</i>	<i>Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volken- kunde.</i>



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"Comment, transplantée au Cambodge, à Java, et dans les autres pays, l'esthétique indienne a-t-elle donné naissance à l'art khmèr, à l'art javanais et aux autres arts hindous d'Extrême-Orient? C'est là un des problèmes les plus délicats qui s'offre aux archéologues."—GEORGE Cœdès, 1944.¹

The problem thus recognized as of outstanding importance by so perspicacious a scholar as M. Cœdès is as formidable as it is fascinating, for it involves an investigation not only of the arts but also of the deeper aspects of the civilizations concerned. It is from the point of view of culture change that these civilizations must be studied and this, incidentally, affords an opportunity of making a contribution to a new and very interesting department of scientific inquiry. Few regions indeed could offer a more attractive field for such work than does South-east Asia.

Preliminary Steps.

I doubt if any but a few Indian writers, whose scholarship seems decidedly tinged with nationalism,² would to-day profess the view that was held by the late E. B. Havell and some other earlier European enthusiasts, namely that the so strongly characterized arts of the Indo-Javanese, Chams, and Khmers can be ascribed to purely Indian craftsmanship now no longer closely

¹ On the last page of the Hanoi (1944) edition of his work *Les États Hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, page 423 of the Paris (1948) edition.

² Especially O. C. Gangoly, *The Art of Java*, Calcutta, 1927; "Relations between Indian and Indonesian Culture," *JGIS*, vol. vii, 1940.

fettered by the *śāstras*. For them indeed no problem existed. It is by way of contrast with such utterly sterile views that the hypotheses of Bosch¹ and Parmentier,² as well as the opinions expressed by Krom,³ in allowing room for the participation of the local peoples, made a definite though limited contribution.

More valuable, as inviting attention to the direction in which an eventual solution was likely to be found, the surviving effect of the previous civilizations, were the indications of Stutterheim,⁴ Prof. Heine-Geldern,⁵ both in regard to Indo-Javanese art, of Coëdès⁶ with reference to Khmer culture, and of Mus⁷ in the field of religions generally. But to face in the right direction, though an essential preliminary, is a different matter from actually proceeding towards one's goal. Lack of adequate appreciation of the importance of distinguishing between the various effective pre-Indian civilizations, lack of any knowledge of the actual mechanism of culture change, even if what was known of its underlying principles had been taken into consideration, made it impossible to make further real progress. How far art historians still were from understanding the importance of the local factor and its mode of action is revealed in statements such as that the arts of Greater India were products of "les caractères indiens mêlés d'éléments autochtones et d'éléments chinois".⁸ Or, while a local

¹ F. D. K. Bosch, "A Hypothesis on the Origin of Indo-Javanese Art," *Rupam*, No. 17, 1924, from a paper read in 1919.

² H. Parmentier, "Origine Commune des Architectures Hindoues dans l'Inde et en Extrême-Orient," *Études Asiatiques*, ii, 1925.

³ N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 2nd edn., 1931, p. 129.

⁴ Tjandi Baraboeadoer and subsequent works.

⁵ R. Heine-Geldern, "Vorgeschichtliche Grundlagen der Kolonial-indischen Kunst," in *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Asiens*, vol. viii, 1934.

⁶ *BEFEO*, vol. xl, p. 341. And more generally in *Les États* . . . p. 4.

⁷ P. Mus, "Cultes indiens et indigènes au Champa," *BEFEO*, 33, pt. 1; "Barabadur," *BEFEO*, 33, pt. 2.

⁸ G. de Coral Rémusat, *L'Art Khmer*, Paris, 1940, p. 10.

factor was concerned, it was less active than was the Indian one.¹

Nevertheless, during the decade before the second world war, art historians and epigraphists were achieving much in other respects through the correlation of their studies. It was due to the brilliant and painstaking work of M. Ph. Stern and his collaborator, the late Mme de Coral Rémusat, with the co-operation of M. Cœdès, that order was brought out of the chaos that prevailed in our knowledge of Khmer and Cham art styles and a sound chronological sequence was established. In thus telling us definitely "what" had happened, a preliminary essential to the broaching of the deeper questions "how?" and "why?" had been attained.

A Basic Bibliography.

The wide field which I cover makes it necessary for me to presuppose that the reader has already, or can acquire, an acquaintance with the essential descriptive data as scientifically ordered in the following works: For Khmer art, *L'Art Khmer: les grandes étapes de son Évolution*, by G. de Coral Rémusat, Paris, 1940 (new edition in the press), based in great part on the previous studies of M. Ph. Stern; for Cham art, *L'Art du Champa et son Évolution*, by Ph. Stern, Paris, 1942; and for Indo-Javanese art, the study of which has not experienced such chronological vicissitudes, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst*, by N. J. Krom, 3 vols, 1923. Those who do not read Dutch will still be able to make use of the 111 plates which make up the third volume and for the rest will find R. C. Majumdar's *Suvarṇadvīpa*, part ii, Calcutta, 1938, useful. For the other arts of Greater India, and for the civilizations generally, ample descriptive material will be found in the works to which I give references in the footnotes.

¹ Ph. Stern in *Histoire Universelle des Arts* (L. Réau), IV, *Arts Musulmans, Extrême-Orient*, Paris, 1939, pp. 220, 224, 235.

For historical framework the recent work of M. George Coedès, *Les États Hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, Paris, 1948, of which I shall have more to say later in this chapter, will be found invaluable. I supplement it, where further facts concerning Indonesia are required, by reference to N. J. Krom's *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 2nd edition, 1931.

The Nature of the Problem and our means of approaching it.

Our problem is one of culture change. It concerns evolution. But when I speak of the evolution of a civilization or of an art, I do not use the word evolution in a loose sense to mean change of any kind. I use it in its strict sense as meaning "a process of opening out or developing what is contained or implied in something; a manifestation of related events or ideas in a natural or orderly succession" (Webster). Thus changes resulting from mere imitation of a series of outside influences would not constitute an evolution.

Outside influences on any art are certainly to be expected, but if we are still to speak of an evolution, these various influences, while enriching the art and civilization on which they are brought to bear, will be absorbed and the evolution will pursue its course. Why has Indo-Javanese, Cham, or Khmer art its own distinctive character which it maintains throughout? Why is it that, despite its apparently Indian "origin", despite the successive Indian and other influences it subsequently experiences, it is never just an incongruous mixture, but is always recognizable as Indo-Javanese, Cham, or Khmer?

At once we see how our problem differs from that which confronted M. Stern. Minute changes in dress and coiffure details, for example, that to him were such important aids to establishing chronological sequence, are unlikely to have much significance for us. Nor are

we primarily concerned with those changes normal to all evolutions, such as elaboration or simplification of motifs. We are concerned with them, as we are concerned with all else, only so far as they may reveal the nature of the tendency that accounts for the continuing distinctiveness of the evolution.

Just as our problem differs from that of M. Stern, so must our approach to it. But never should it be forgotten that but for his basic work there would be no question of approaching this further problem at all, at least over a large part of our area. Essentially this different approach calls for a broadening of our basis of operations. We must be prepared to make full use of the available data of protohistory, and also of certain aspects of psychology.

The Historical Framework.

6 The scope of our inquiry in time will not be arbitrarily limited but will be carried to the natural end, or to the disruption by foreign intervention, of all the *directly* Indian-influenced civilizations of Greater India. In effect this means to the thirteenth century, the time of the coming of the Thai invasions and of conversion to Ceylon Buddhism, for all countries of continental Greater India other than Champa; to the fifteenth century for the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, and Java, when Islam supervened; to the seventeenth century or later (at least in theory) in the case of Champa; and down to the present day with the post-Majapahit civilization of Bali. 7

For what we need to know by way of historical framework we are indeed fortunate in having at our disposal in concise form the mature fruits of M. Coédès' long years of labour, his comprehensive work *Les États Hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, Paris, 1948. With regard to the so long vexed question of the seat of power

of the Śailendra emperors of Indonesia, it is important to note that he admits¹ that there is no proof that the Śailendras were rulers of Śrīvijaya (Sumatra) in the eighth century, as he had originally thought, but that they were a Javanese dynasty, and that one may conclude that in the second half of the ninth century Sumatra and Java were united under the rule of a Śailendra whose capital was in Java.

Having for my part realized that only a recognition of the importance of Java could account for the strong influx of Indo-Javanese artistic influences into Cambodia at this time, I gave up² my belief in a Malayan location of the Śailendra capital during the eighth and ninth centuries. A large measure of agreement may therefore be said to have been reached on a point that is of vital importance for the understanding of the historical framework of Greater India.³

One further point in connection with the Śailendra empire may be mentioned here. Sir Roland Braddell has shown⁴ that Langkasuka (Lang-ya-hsü, Ilangāsogam, etc.), was essentially located on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula though its territory may have stretched across at times, while Cœdès appears also to have given up his location of its capital in Kedah. Consequently I now agree with Sir Roland that the sites I excavated in Kedah were the remains of Kaṭāha (Kaṭāram). We can trace the history of this city continuously under a variety of names from the fourth to the fourteenth century. There is every reason to believe that it was the

¹ op. cit., p. 159 f.

² *JRAS*, 1948, p. 31.

³ In a proposed re-reading of the Ligor inscription, Bosch tried to show ("De Inscriptie van Ligor", *Tijds.*, vol. lxxxi, 1941, p. 46) that a Śailendra was already ruling at Śrīvijaya in A.D. 775. Although it would appear that Sumatra had by then come under Javanese suzerainty, that Bosch's view goes too far has been shown by Cœdès ("Une nouvelle interprétation de l'inscription de Ligor", *Actes du XXII^e Congrès International des Orientalistes*, p. 248).

⁴ "Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya," *JRASMB*, vol., 22 pt. 1, 1949.

chief city of the peninsular portion of Śrīvijaya's domains, if not in later centuries even more important.

There are a few problems of history, and especially of historical geography, on which the solutions advocated by Coedès may not in every case command universal acceptance. But as I shall base my inquiry primarily on archæological evidence, making use in the first place of a bare framework of well established dates, and only thereafter turning to see if there are any known historical events that might account for the changes we have observed, such points of uncertainty will not greatly inconvenience us.

Some Principles of Culture Change.

It is to anthropologists, rarely entirely oblivious of cultural psychology, that we owe some knowledge of the principles that govern change. This indebtedness should cause us no surprise. Anthropologists and psychologists, not historians and archæologists, see change in progress and are consequently in the best position, if they are so minded, to study its processes. If they have not advanced as rapidly as we might have liked, this is perhaps less due to the inherent difficulties as to their preoccupation with other aspects of their subject, such as function.

Before they had even reached the threshold of an understanding of the actual mechanism of culture change—which we shall reserve for a later section of this introduction—anthropologists had, during the last few decades, succeeded in arriving at a number of generalizations which give some idea of underlying principles. In the present state of knowledge they are far from being axiomatic, or to be treated as though they were well ascertained laws of science. But they do provide us with a number of working hypotheses based on a far wider

range of material than that of which we dispose. Consequently we shall do well to bear them in mind, though as our work proceeds we may supplement them with other generalizations, of possibly more limited application, such as our facts may appear to warrant.

The following are some of the principles which may be gathered from a perusal of leading works on the subject and which appear to be widely held, although not all these principles are mentioned by every writer.¹

✓ Cultural evolution must be distinguished from organic evolution and failure to do so leads to the formulation of cultural theories that are really misapplied biology. "The course of organic evolution can be portrayed properly as a tree of life, as Darwin has called it, with trunk, limbs, branches, and twigs. The course of development of human culture in history cannot be so described, even metaphorically. There is a constant branching out, but the branches also grow together again, wholly or partially, all the time. Culture diverges, but it syncretizes and anastomoses too. Life really does nothing but diverge: its occasional convergences are superficial resemblances not a joining or a reabsorption. A branch on the tree of life may approach another branch; it will not normally coalesce with it. The tree of culture, on the contrary, is a ramification of such coalescences, assimilations, or acculturations."² ✕

What is known as the "culturalistic fallacy" may be held to include a common but equally fallacious view of art too. If we say "an art evolves" or "an art renews itself", and allow ourselves to forget that these can only be used as convenient figures of abstract speech, we are in danger of closing the door to all possibility of

✓ ¹ F. C. Bartlett, *Psychology and Primitive Culture*, Cambridge, 1923; Melville J. Herskovits, "The Processes of Cultural Change" and A. Irving Hallowell, "Sociopsychological Aspects of Acculturation," in *Science of Man in the World Crisis*, Columbia, 1945; A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, New Edn., New York, 1948. ✕

² Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 260. ✕

understanding the nature of the process to which we thus refer so glibly. Strictly speaking human beings are the actual agents.

* It is for that reason that no one interested in change can afford to ignore the psychological factor, that is to say, however, the psychological factor as manifested in culture rather than in individual personality. But it is not suggested that we should just psychologize. We must "analyse cultural events and situations first in cultural terms—but remember always that cultural happenings are also personal and psychological happenings" for, "after all, culture exists only through persons, in or by their behaviour."¹

It is important for an objective approach that we should appreciate culture change in terms of stimulus and response relationship. This was realized already by Professor Bartlett, who stressed the objective value of studying the observable responses of a society to the stimuli to which it is exposed. This is the approach that in psychology is known as behaviourism, but it does not go so far as to deny the possibility of an adaptation being due to reflective thinking, such denial being the point of view only of the extreme behaviourists. In ancient South-east Asia we are seldom in a position to know what people were thinking. But while I should not deny that on occasion there may have been reflective thinking, we shall find little activity that does not find adequate explanation in terms of stimulus and response. I should not, therefore, as does Mme de Coral² be inclined to speak of the Khmer artists borrowing from other cultures because of their need to renew their art, for there is no evidence that they were conscious of any such need. In any case what they actually did was to respond to obvious stimuli.

Culture change results from innovations which may

¹ Kroeber, *op. cit.*, pp. 576 f.

² *op. cit.*, p. 6.

be due either to invention or to borrowing. The latter is by far the commoner.

Deliberately planned invention, a product of reflective thinking, is a development of modern Western civilization and consequently we hardly need to consider it. As a general rule inventions are responses to stimuli. This fact, and the fact that many inventions are known to have been made independently and simultaneously, show that the possibility of independent origins has to be taken into consideration. It is only when we meet with complex or arbitrary traits or patterns in different places that we may feel reasonably sure that diffusion accounts for their presence.

The need to adapt to changed geographical and climatic environment is one form of stimulus that may lead to invention, but it is too often put forward as an all sufficient reason for cultural change. Kroeber remarks that it probably has been the responsible factor once in every ten cases in which it has been proposed. It certainly led to some inventions in material culture when the peoples of South-east Asia were moving southwards into their new habitat, e.g. the outrigger canoe. Such inventions, being hard to improve, would be likely to persist after Indianization. And in magic or primitive religion new cults might be called into being in response to some special feature of the environment, e.g. a need in South-east Asia, as in India, to propitiate the ubiquitous snakes. But, generally speaking, the environment which led to far more profound changes was the new human environment.

The response to a stimulus, except in the situation which I shall describe below as "extreme acculturation", may be either acceptance or rejection, which ever it is being of course crucial. Desire, not necessity, is the mother of invention, and also of borrowing, and, as in all learning, it must be present if an innovation is to be accepted. In other words, if an innovation

is to be accepted, at least permanently, it must offer some advantage. The more advantageous appears to be the innovation the fewer need its introducers be. If it does not thus offer an obvious advantage, a preference for the familiar, giving rise to a conserving tendency, operates to bring about rejection. China's classic relations with Japan probably offer the best example of the operation of this conserving tendency in extreme degree. Though Japan received so much from China, and not infrequently improved what she had received, e.g. the art of fine swordmaking, the Japanese products never went back to China. "It was Chinese self-sufficiency, quiet arrogance about the superiority of their own culture, that prevented important return diffusion."¹

Culture is usually accepted as a pattern, not in individual traits (a fact which it may be remarked, incidentally, finds its explanation in the "gestalt" theory of psychologists). Nevertheless isolated traits are often the most easily accepted if they are of a practical easily understood nature. When, in accordance with the general rule, a new pattern is accepted, there is always some reworking or moulding. This naturally leads to originality of appearance in greater or less degree. Traits (or art motifs) which clash with previous thought will be rejected outright or soon dropped. On the other hand, those which are most closely allied to previous thought will be emphasized. But since the process is essentially an unconscious or semi-conscious one, much neutral material will be accepted because it forms part of the pattern. The conserving tendency always imposes certain limits on the extent to which new inventions or loans may deviate from what has hitherto obtained, i.e. deviation is limited by the general character of the pattern.

Change is least likely in static societies, those which

¹ Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

are exposed to few new impulses. It is also least likely in activities that are taken for granted, as compared with those, like religion, of which there is frequent discussion. But sometimes orthodox religious influences, as with the prescriptions of the Hindu *śāstras*, endeavour to freeze culture or some aspect of it. This retards change in those portions of the patterns affected.

The term "acculturation" has been variously used. I shall use it synonymously with Indianization (or Khmerization, etc.), with reference to the transfer of culture to the people acculturated, prefacing it with the word "extreme" when I wish to convey a more nearly complete stage of the process. I never speak of "complete" acculturation, or of assimilation. This is because we have to remember that our data, being mainly archaeological, mostly refer to the character of the *official* culture, and how far this extended into the masses of the population cannot be accurately determined. But it seems safe to say that whatever of ancient thought survived in the areas of more extreme acculturation is too weak to have had any noticeable effect on the official culture, however decadent this may have become, before it fell a prey to some new foreign acculturation.

Where acculturation is on a mutual basis—as was the case in South India with the Dravidians and Aryans—we get fusion, synthesis or "hybridization". This is not a situation with which we shall be confronted in Greater India, at least not as a permanent state which may be isolated for study. We are always concerned there with some stage either in Indianization, or in the resurgence of the pre-Indian civilizations.

A "cultural accident" is some chance or unexpected stimulus—the stock example is Commodore Perry's opening of Japan to Western contacts—which may or may not have far reaching consequences. Since the original event is often lost sight of, it is a possibility

that has to be borne in mind when we meet with otherwise unexplainable responses.

When a society has undergone some degree of acculturation, short of extreme, we do not need to suppose that the survival of old ideas depends on ancient rites being practised secretly, because old traditions are very persistent. Furthermore, displaced ideas are often kept from complete disappearance by symbols to which the old meanings tend to attach themselves. Only a few of the meanings or associations which cluster about the symbols are in full consciousness. The others, though unacknowledged for a time, tend to affect behaviour and to reappear in times of social crisis, so that the community returns to an earlier stage of culture.¹ This recognition by a high authority of the fact of cultural resurgence (which has to be distinguished from decadence and decay), and of the possibility of ideas affecting behaviour while still unacknowledged, is important. The principle was known to Stutterheim who, as we shall see, effectively applied it to the explanation of what he found to be the situation in Java. His own statement of the principle, clear and to the point, may well be reproduced here :

“ Psychology teaches us that conceptions which have been repressed in our sub-consciousness have a much tougher existence than ideas consciously acquired, and that, as soon as man gets a chance, he drops the latter to replace them by the repressed ideas which keep surging up out of his sub-consciousness. Normally, education and social environment prevent this process from developing to any appreciable extent. In the case, however, of a people which has been vigorously educated and socially organized by an alien people (in this case the Hindus) and which subsequently loses its educators, the process may have an opportunity of developing, slowly at first, but gradually with increasing speed. It

¹ Bartlett, *op. cit.*, pp. 121, 125.

is true against this that the culture of the Court and the upper classes constantly tends to correct the impulses of the populace and this, in fact, is the reason why the process takes place with such comparative slowness ; but in any event the conceptions of the subconscious being are bound to conquer in the end. That which is indigenous is stronger than that which is alien.”¹

To this I propose only one minor modification : nowadays one would prefer to speak of a concept not being in full consciousness rather than as existing in “subconsciousness”. Terms savouring of the “Subconscious” or “Unconscious”, which give the impression of a rather mysterious separate part of the personality, are now little used in orthodox psychology.

Cultural loss is a very real factor and one that must constantly be kept in mind. That is to say, apart from replacement resulting from acculturation, “societies do at times undergo genuine or downright losses of specific items of their culture, owing to environment, loss of materials or skills, shrinkage of population, impoverishment, and other or unknown causes.”² Art styles become repetitive or deteriorate. This has to be distinguished from the resurgence of earlier styles, which is often associated with a certain vitality rather than with degeneration or decay. Loss of elements may also be due to uninstructed copying, and this may especially be the case where a symbol travels faster than its interpretation.

Marginal cultures are those which present an incomplete form of some richer culture through being situated in a geographically peripheral position. Those situated in a mountainous or otherwise undesirable area within a generally favourable region have been called “internally marginal”.

¹ Willem F. Stutterheim, “The Meaning of the Kāla-makara Ornament,” *J. A. & L.*, vol. iii, pt. 1, 1929, p. 44 f.

² Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

Is there a Racial Factor in Culture Change?

This is a question which I have thought worthy of a separate section, not because of its importance, but because of the extent to which its importance is commonly exaggerated. It goes without saying that any feeling of racial superiority must have no place in scientific investigations of a possible biological factor in cultural development. Yet one must suspect its presence in the minds of some cultural historians, as when R. C. Majumdar, in looking for a cause of the difference between the style of East and Central Javanese bas-reliefs, says "The degradation of one of the best forms of art into one of the lowest is difficult to explain simply by the lapse of time . . . the reason must therefore lie in the racial characteristics."¹

According to Kroeber² "most of the alleged existing evidence on race endowment is probably worthless. The remainder has probably some value, but to what degree, and what it demonstrates, cannot yet be asserted."

We should hardly be tempted to explain in terms of biological heredity differences in temperament of the various peoples of Greater India. For while these are classed on a purely linguistic basis as either peoples speaking Môn-Khmer languages or peoples speaking Malayo-Polynesian languages (the latter in Champa, the Malay Peninsula and the islands), it is unlikely that the various communities differ very profoundly from one another in racial respect.

The differences of "disposition" (or temperament) remarked by Stutterheim in comparing the Javanese and Balinese³ can easily be recognized as more probably the result of cultural influences, especially of strongly

¹ R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, pt. 2, p. 288.

² Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

³ W. F. Stutterheim, *Indian Influences in Old-Balinese Art*, London, 1985, p. 36.

surviving Tantric extravagances in the practices of the latter. I think I shall be able to show that Bosch's "greater natural ability for decoration" ¹ of the peoples of Indonesia than of India has equally little foundation.

Kroeber himself in comparing ² recent characterizations of the Siamese and Burmese, thinking their "very similar culture" might allow of certain differences that emerge being regarded as racial, forgets the long and intense Khmer influence to which the Siamese but not the Burmese were exposed. He is probably more correct when, later in his book, in comparing the well-marked temperamental differences between Polynesians and Melanesians, he concludes that the "culture-historical explanation makes it unnecessary to fall back on biological heredity, on genetic race, to explain the psychological distinctness, unnecessary to posit the temperamental difference as inherently fixed and permanent." ³

We may do well to admit that a problem as to the extent and influence of a possible racial factor exists—and then forget about it. In this work I hope to arrive at a comprehensive explanation of culture change in terms of culture; and whatever subsequent modifications may be required I think few are likely to come from the standpoint of race.

The Mechanism of Culture Change.

It is to the same alliance of anthropology and psychology that we have noted above, that we owe a recent and potentially most valuable advance towards an understanding of the actual mechanism of culture change. To be more explicit, it is to Dr. Abram Kardiner, who is primarily a psychologist, that we are indebted for what Professor Ralph Linton, in his foreword to Kardiner's book ⁴ recognizes as "a new research tool

¹ F. D. K. Bosch, *Rupam*, No. 17, p. 36.

² Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 589 f.

³ Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 761.

⁴ A. Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, Columbia, 1945.

the application of which to historic data promises to give new and important results". That Kardiner's discovery is vaguely foreshadowed in some of the principles we have already considered does not in any way reduce the value of his contribution which is on a very different plane of practical usability. Indeed the very fact of the foreshadowing can only serve to give us some added confidence in setting out to apply the method that his work suggests.

After analysing various cultures, as well as a number of individual types belonging to each, Kardiner arrives at what he calls the "basic personality" of each culture, the "basic" not referring to origins or being in any sense racial.¹ The phrase is intended to convey rather the sum of the cultural characteristics which the vast majority of a people have in common as a result of their experiences in early life. As such, he points out, it approximates to what Herodotus called "national character". I propose to use instead the term *local genius* as being both more euphonious and more suited to the nature of our material, which is largely concerned with art. But it should be understood that by "local" I mean simply pre-Indian.

This local genius can be destroyed by extreme acculturation. Alternatively, as a result of a lesser degree of acculturation, it can undergo more or less change. But in the latter case some of its features will remain constant, revealing themselves as a preference for what are evidently the more congenial traits of a new cultural pattern, and a specific way of handling the newly acquired concepts. *These constant features will determine the reaction to the new culture and give direction to subsequent evolution.*

¹ Kardiner's view as to a possible biological or "constitutional" residue is the same as Kroeber's. "At all events," he says, "no refuge should be taken in the concept of 'constitutional' which can only at present be defined in terms of unknowables and conjectures." (op. cit., p. 449.)

It is the concept contained in the last sentence that provides us with our operative tool. For it means that local genius, the continuing effect of the previous civilization, is far from being just one ingredient in a "mixture". In conditioning the response to the foreign stimulus (whether this be influence from India or from some other culture) it provides the active agency which moulds the borrowed material, giving it an original twist and at the same time preserving and emphasizing the distinctive character of the evolution. It will be understood that when I speak of local genius moulding newly introduced traits I do so merely as a convenient abstraction; it is the craftsmen who do the actual moulding or reworking—in the light of local genius.

If this insight into mechanism could only have been achieved by the psychologically minded anthropologist, it is perhaps equally certain that the archaeologist and the cultural historian are best equipped to apply it. But that would merely be an example of a proper co-operation between the sciences.

In what I shall call the "western zone" of Greater India (Ceylon, Burma, Central Siam, Malay Peninsula, and Sumatra) there was, as I shall show in the next chapter, extreme acculturation, with the result that local genius was there destroyed. This western zone may be regarded as constituting Greater India in the narrow sense, with a purely colonial imitative culture.¹

This was never the lot of the "eastern zone" (mainly Java, Champa, and Cambodia). Although there was very definite Indianization it was not so extreme as to destroy local genius. Furthermore, since there is a gradual waning of Indian influence, we may expect to find local genius there gradually gaining in its power to mould the Indian pattern. At a later stage, failing the

¹ I first proposed the distinction between a western and an eastern zone of Greater India in my "Recent Malayan Excavations and some Wider Implications", *JRAS*, 1946, further developing the point in my "Culture Change in Greater India", *JRAS*, 1948.

arrival of some new acculturating influence (as of Ceylon Buddhism or Islam) a resurgence of the pre-Indian civilization is a development that we might expect to find if there is substance in one of the principles I quoted. But such resurgent culture could not have failed to sustain some losses after such passage of time, just as it might well be found to retain some Indian forms that suited its purpose. But to this we shall come later.

It will thus appear that the differentiation of the Indo-Javanese, Cham, and Khmer cultures (I would not limit it, as I at first thought, to external forms alone) is likely to be due to the working of a different local genius in each case, the constant features of which depend on the particular pre-Indian civilization of each region. Obviously we must postpone putting this proposition into the form of a definite working hypothesis (page 83) until we have carefully considered the evidence as to the character of the pre-Indian civilizations concerned. But it will be logical first to consider the mode of establishment and exact nature of the Indian influence—the stimulus which started the whole process of the making of Greater India.

The Establishment of Indian Influence in South-east Asia.

The most probable hypotheses as to the conditions under which Indian influences were brought to bear on the Môn-Khmer and Malayo-Polynesian speaking peoples of South-east Asia have been well summarized by M. Cœdès.¹ He concludes that the introduction of the Hindu cultural pattern was a gradual process, beginning with the arrival of a few merchants and adventurers who later became more numerous and were accompanied by Brahmans. Such contacts, beginning at an unknown but relatively remote period, are first substantiated archæologically in the second to third century A.D. The superior cultural endowments of the

¹ op. cit., chap. ii.

immigrants which, as we shall see, were cognate to those of the local peoples and therefore readily acceptable by them, assured the newcomers of a welcome. They frequently intermarried, and they were often employed by the local rulers. Indianized kingdoms soon came into being, either as a result of an Indian imposing himself on the native population, or else through a native chief adopting the foreign civilization. The Indian social structure with its caste system was less thoroughly absorbed than was the religion.

In considering the actual means of introduction of the Indian civilization Coedès gives due weight to the influence of the Hindu theoretical treatises or *śāstras*, rightly rejecting the extreme importance that some have wished to ascribe to them. On the other hand he stresses the probable efficacy of the impressions gained by native visitors from South-east Asia to the sacred places of India, a factor which had previously received no consideration.

Recently F. H. van Naerssen¹ suggested that what he thinks would otherwise have been an "unbridgeable gap" between mere Indian trading posts on the coast and the residences of native chiefs inland, must have been spanned by the existence of self-governing coastal communities of Indians in which all the aspects of Indian civilization could have flourished. These communities, he believes, corresponded to the modern "*kampongs kling*", such as exist to-day at ports like Medan. No doubt such miniature replicas of metropolitan Indian society, had they indeed existed, would have been more potent for rapid acculturation of the interior than would the efforts of a few individuals far from home, or the agency of imported treatises. But it is hard to say that the presence of such highly organized Indian communities would have been necessary

¹ F. H. van Naerssen, "De Aanvang van het Hindu-Indonesische Acculturatie Proces," with English summary, in *Orientalia Neerlandica*, Leiden, 1948.

in view of what appears to be the general rule that a recognizably superior cultural pattern requires few introducers. And to prove van Naerssen's hypothesis one would have to be able to point to architectural remains of unmodified Indian style on the sites of "*kampongs kling*". Though such purely Indian remains have been found in the western zone that is not the case in Java, Champa, or Cambodia.

Whatever the exact means of establishing contact with the indigenous peoples, it is the degree of the resulting acculturation that forms the basis on which I make the distinction between western and eastern zone. In the western zone it was extreme, at any rate so far as the official religion and art were concerned, Indian colonists probably making up the bulk of the upper classes. A Chinese text of the fifth century A.D. states that at Touen-siun, a dependency of Fu-nan believed to have been situated on the Malay Peninsula, there were "five hundred families of Hou (? = merchants) from India, and more than a thousand Brahmans from India. The local people practise the doctrine of the Brahmans and give them their daughters in marriage."¹ This gives the impression of being something more than a "*kampong kling*". And the intensity of Indianization at such a western zone centre as Che-li-fo-che is clearly indicated by I-Ching's description.

So far as we know, this intense Indian grip on the western zone was purely cultural. I incline to agree with Coedès² that there was never any Indian military conquest or annexation. However it must be mentioned that so high an authority as Prof. Nilakanta Sastri has suggested, in view of the evidence of the Takuapa inscription that there were many Tamils there, including merchants and soldiers, that "quite possibly the political power of the Pallava king Nandivarman III

¹ P. Pelliot, *Le Fou-nan*, p. 88.

² G. Coedès, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

(A.D. 826-850) extended to parts of the west coast of the Malay Peninsula at least for some years." ¹

Analysis of the Indian Influence.

Indian scholars seem often to have tended to over-emphasize the overseas influence of their own part of the country. But M. Coedès, in summing up the evidence, concludes that "all the regions of India contributed more or less to this expansion, and it is the South that had the greatest part." ²

I accept this conclusion unhesitatingly for the southern half of Greater India (Sumatra, Malaya, Java, Borneo, and Bali) which was naturally more directly exposed to South Indian influences. But in the course of this book I shall cite evidence, at least as concerns the Gupta, that tends to point to a different conclusion in the case of continental Greater India. I refer notably to the preponderantly Gupta character of the earlier remains in Siam and Burma, to the strong Gupta influence in early Cham sculpture and in much early Khmer sculpture and architecture. These facts are not changed by M. Stern's having recently shown that some of the early Khmer decorative motifs are of Pallava origin.³ But in Champa and Cambodia the strong Indo-Javanese influence doubtless did much to make up for possibly less intense direct South Indian influence there.

The Indian culture bearers reached the islands by the all sea route; but the dangers of the long sea journey to the more distant parts of continental Greater India were undoubtedly in part, and at certain periods, avoided by the use of overland trails across the Malay Peninsula. The exploration of such routes naturally commended itself to me as a means of learning more about Indian overseas expansion. But when on my first expedition,

¹ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, "Takuapa and its Tamil Inscription," *JRASMB*, vol. xxii, 1949, p. 30.

² Coedès, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

³ Ph. Stern, "Motifs Indiens au début de l'art Khmèr," in *Actes du XXIe Congrès International des Orientalistes*, p. 233.

that on which I explored the Takuapa ¹-Ch'aiya route, I found myself face to face with more advanced temple architecture at the eastern end of the route, I mistakenly accounted for it as the result of "local evolution".²

My subsequent exploration of the old city of Śi T'ep (Śrī Deva) in central Siam,³ however, led to my recognition that Indian influences were diffused by waves. This conclusion received further support and amplification from my detailed excavation of Kaṭāha (Kedah), where a long series of remains came to light.⁴ But it was only after reflection on the results obtained, as well as a much wider comparative study of western zone material, that I came to realize that there was in fact no evolution in the western zone. In the light of an appreciation of the probable role of local genius as a shaper of evolution we can see that such development was not to be expected in the western zone, where local genius had been destroyed. The function of the western zone, including both the more frequented portions of the Peninsula and the Indianized lowlands elsewhere in the zone, as concerns the larger picture, was one of relay. It served to some extent to maintain and to pass on the Indian influences to the regions further east where local genius was active.

It happened then, in the course of my field studies, that the concept gradually emerged, that Indianization, though a continuing process, proceeded in a number of successive waves. And consequently I came to formulate my theory of the Four Main Waves of Indian Cultural Expansion. These waves, which not only make up

¹ Incidentally, Sir Roland Braddell has shown (*JRASMB*, loc. cit.) good reason for supposing that Trang not Takuapa was the ancient Takola of Ptolemy, but this does not concern us here.

² "A Newly Explored Route of Ancient Indian Cultural Expansion," *I. A. & L.*, vol. ix, No. 1, 1935, p. 26.

³ "The Exploration of Sri Deva," *I. A. & L.*, vol. x, No. 2, 1936.

⁴ "Archæological Researches on Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya," *JRASMB*, vol. xviii, 1940; "Further work on Indian sites in Malaya," *JRASMB*, vol. xx.

a chronological continuity, but tend to overlap, correspond to the peak periods of medieval Indian civilization, the Amarāvati (second and third centuries A.D.), the Gupta (fourth to sixth centuries A.D.), the Pallava (ca. A.D. 550-750), the Pāla (ca. A.D. 750-900). The recrudescence of late Pāla influence in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, consequent on the scattering of the monks of Nālandā, might in a sense be regarded as amounting to a fifth wave, although it occurred long after the main period of Indian cultural expansion. Nor is it suggested that in addition to the main waves there may not have been other minor or less obvious cultural impulses from India.

In his recent history, Cœdès¹ also expresses the opinion that the Indian expansion proceeded in waves for he writes "il a comporté des vagues successives, des courants locaux d'origines variées." It is indeed plainly in accordance with what is a common characteristic of the diffusion process wherever encountered. Thus Prof. Heine-Geldern, with reference to protohistoric diffusion says: "I came to the conclusion that we had to distinguish at least two, and possibly more, megalithic waves which reached Indonesia at different times. The older one, in reality probably a series of ethnic and cultural waves . . ." ²

Except in Ceylon, the first or Amarāvati wave has left us only a few short epigraphs and a number of widely scattered Buddhist figures. We shall not have to give it further consideration in this book, since in South-east Asia it seems to have been succeeded by the Gupta before contact with the local people could become effective. It is naturally in the western zone that we shall be able to see most clearly the character of the three waves whose influence will concern us throughout.

¹ op. cit., p. 62.

² R. Heine-Geldern, "Prehistoric Research in the Netherlands Indies," in *Science and Scientists in the Netherlands Indies*, New York, 1945, p. 151.

CHAPTER II

THE WESTERN ZONE

(CEYLON, BURMA, CENTRAL SIAM, MALAY PENINSULA,
SUMATRA)

We have now to consider the effect of the three operative waves of Indian influence, the Gupta, the Pallava, and the Pāla, on the western zone of Greater India, i.e. that part of the region which received the full force of Indian colonizing zeal and where, as I shall show, there was extreme acculturation. In the paper in which I outlined my preliminary results¹ I reached conclusions on this matter which, only slightly modified by further study, may now be expressed as follows :

(1) The archaeological remains in the western zone represent simply the reflection of one or other of the main waves of Indian cultural expansion. They may with justice be called colonial Indian or Indianesque. This extreme acculturation seems to have mitigated against more than occasional borrowing from the eastern zone. There was probably a feeling of self-sufficiency comparable to what we have noted was the case with China vis-à-vis Japan.

(2) The impact of each wave was felt *throughout* the zone, for even Ceylon, despite its proximity to South India, shows the effect of *every* wave. But so far as the data allow us to form an opinion, the Pallava was probably felt less in Burma and Central Siam than in Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula, and Sumatra.

(3) Where strongly marked conserving tendencies controlled the situation, the effect of a wave could be minimized through rejection, and even where that was

¹ " Culture Change in Greater India," *JRAS*, 1948.

not the case there was often some degree of survival of the effects of earlier waves. In general, Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism, of which-ever wave of influence, flourished most in the western zone, partly because they were first in the field in force, partly because, with extreme acculturation, the Śiva *linga* evoked no special response here, as we shall see it did in the eastern zone.

(4) Though the various waves are clearly reflected in the art of the western zone there is *no evolution*. Static correctness, as Indian control ebbed, gave way to decadence.

I shall now set forth the body of evidence that enabled me to arrive at these conclusions. Though there are a few points which I have slightly elaborated here, I maintain as succinct a treatment of the subject as possible, as I am aware that what must be mainly a catalogue of imitative manifestations cannot make for attractive reading. Yet it is of the first importance that we recognize the effects of these waves of Indian influence here, where we can most plainly distinguish them. For distance from India can have imposed no impenetrable barrier to the passage of ideas. We must therefore bear in mind, when we come to the eastern zone, that the same Indian cultural influences must have played a part in the development of the civilizations there also, though we cannot assume that the impact of each wave was uniform throughout that area.

In the final section of the chapter I devote special consideration to what I call "Indo-Malaysian" deity sculpture. The need for this arises from the relative tardiness with which deity sculpture, wherever Indian influence is strong, responds to new influences. This I have found applies equally to the deity sculpture of Java. Consequently we have, during the eighth to twelfth centuries, what is in effect a common style which not only combines many Pallava characteristics with the Pāla, but cuts across zonal boundaries. A

corollary to this phenomenon is that it would have been impossible to prove the more extreme acculturation of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula than of Java if we had to rely on the evidence of sculpture alone. For, as M. Coëdès once remarked, a parallel study of architecture will no doubt permit one "to elucidate various problems of origin and evolution which sculpture alone is powerless to resolve."¹ Fortunately we have sufficient architectural evidence to ensure this. Enough Sumatran monuments survive, late ones in which local genius would have left its impress if it was ever going to do so, to enable us to establish their colonial Indian character as compared to the Indo-Javanese temples.

GUPTA

Ceylon.—During the early centuries Buddhism of the Hīnayāna school was dominant in Ceylon, although in the sixth century, corresponding to an outburst of Mahāyānist literary activity in India, the Greater Vehicle flourished for a time and impressed the masses.² Of the few sculptures of purely Gupta workmanship may be mentioned the man and woman at Isurumuniya,³ and the guardstones and dwarf guardians of Runumavahihara.⁴ The famous rock paintings of Sigiriya are also purely Gupta. Other Buddhist sculptures, as well as the profusion of *stūpas* and monastery basements at Anurādhapura keep close to the art tradition of Gupta India.

The art of Polonnaruwa (eleventh to early thirteenth centuries) has been correctly denominated "archaistic",⁵ the result of a revivalist movement which restored many ancient works, built old style colossal *stūpas*, and returned to Gupta style sculptures, although

¹ *JSS*, vol. xxxi, pt. 3, p. 193.

² S. Paranavitana, *CGS*, vol. ii, pt. 1, 1928.

³ *CJS*, Series G, vol. i, pl. 48.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. ii, pls. 40, 41.

⁵ *ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 9.

at the same time contemporary Tamil buildings were erected, no doubt because of the employment of Tamil craftsmen. The revival continued to hold its ground after the Polonnaruwa period. In the eighteenth century Temple of the Tooth at Kandy it is interesting to note that the Gupta style floral decoration is to be seen, to the exclusion of any Tamil influence.¹

One of the most interesting buildings at Polonnaruwa is the seven-storied Sat Mahal Prasada, which is perhaps to be regarded as a translation into permanent materials, accompanied by the mechanical necessity of reducing its proportions so that it could only function as a reliquary, of one of the ancient seven or nine-storied monasteries. No such building has survived in India but in Ceylon the basal columns of the second century Lohapasada still stand. These ancient structures would appear to have been Indian derivatives of the Babylonian ziggurat, models of the cosmos adapted to Buddhist thought and the attainment of the highest planes.²

It was largely owing to the missionary endeavour accompanying this revival of Ceylon Hinayāna Buddhism and Gupta style art that this form of religious culture was consolidated in Burma and Siam and the Khmer evolution was finally disrupted in the thirteenth century.

As to the character of Ceylon Gupta art it would appear that Hocart's dictum that "as in theology so in the architecture of its topes Ceylon remained conservative"³ might be applied very generally. Even where he is at pains to plead for the existence at all periods of a "distinct Sinhalese style" what he says this comprises is significant of its true nature: "This style may reflect the phases through which Indian art was passing at the time, but it reflects them with a difference. It is always

¹ *BEFEO*, vol. xxxii, p. 471.

² Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, 1903, p. 70; P. Mus, *BEFEO*, vol. xxxiii, p. 724.

³ *CJS*, I, p. --

distinguished by greater simplicity, and usually by shallower cutting." He does not, it will be noted, speak of originality or of evolution, but rather of differences in technique, and then such as might be expected of the work of copyists.

That the art of Ceylon is in general a reflection of that of India, without original developments, was indeed already recognized by Général de Beylié¹ and his opinion has been confirmed by M. Stern.²

Burma.—Old Prome, the capital of the Pyus, who were an advance guard of the Tibeto-Burmans, is still the only site from which we have considerable archaeological evidence of the Gupta period. There are *stūpas*, such as the Bawbawgyi, of Gupta type. Among Hīnayāna Buddhist sculptures and bronzes some seem to be of definitely Gupta workmanship, such as the sculpture of the East Zegu temple and the repoussé figures of the famous casket found in 1926. But others are the work of local copyists who sometimes made iconographical mistakes.³

Central Siam.—In the fifth and first half of the sixth century A.D. this region seems to have formed most of the western half of the Fu-nan empire. It is from the site of Śī T'ep (Śrī Deva)⁴ that we have two Sanskrit inscriptions of not later than the fifth to sixth century A.D. I have attributed, on architectural grounds, the main sanctuary tower there, which differs so obviously from the neighbouring Khmer structures, to the same early date and to Indian workmanship. Four-porched sanctuary towers, I might have added, though no doubt of light materials, were being built in India as early as the second century A.D.⁵ As to the Vaiṣṇava sculptures

¹ *L'Architecture Hindoue en Extrême-Orient*, Paris, 1907, pp. 358, 393.

² In *Histoire Universelle des Arts (L. Réau) IV*, Paris, 1939, p. 177.

³ Nihar Ranjan Ray, *JGIS*, vol. vi, p. 24.

⁴ "The Exploration of Śrī Deva," *I. A. & L.*, vol. x, No. 2, 1936.

⁵ A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pl. 69A; Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. vii c.

from Śi T'ep, I must say that I find it difficult to understand why M. Cœdès, in referring to an article by P. Dupont,¹ which is concerned with the very different Pallava style images from other sites in Siam, has seen fit so far to modify his earlier, and in my opinion quite sound conclusions, as to say that the Śi T'ep statues "ne sont peut-être pas aussi anciennes que je l'avais cru".² In fact the only reference made to them by Dupont in this article is to say that (in his opinion) they are "encore mal situé chronologiquement".³ Certainly the Hindu images from other sites in central Siam, Sup'an, U T'ong⁴ and perhaps P'ech'aburi⁵ which may be looked upon as late survivals of the Gupta type, have a very different appearance from the Śi T'ep statues.

From A.D. 550 until about A.D. 1000 central Siam constituted the kingdom known to the Chinese as Dvāravatī. The remains covering this long period are mainly an efflorescence of Hīnayāna Buddhist art adhering closely to the Gupta tradition and paralleling the contemporary situation in Ceylon. At a number of

¹ "Viṣṇu mitrés de l'Indochine Occidentale," *BEFEO*, vol. xli, pp. 233-254.

² *Les Etats* . . . , p. 38.

³ loc cit. p. 233.

⁴ *JRAS*, 1946, pl. xvii, which shows a striking comparison of the "man and horse" relief from Śi T'ep with a stylized Viṣṇu at U T'ong which may date from the ninth century. Incidentally, I should like to take this opportunity to state that since Dupont has shown ("Art de Dvāravatī et art Khmer", *RAA*, vol. ix, pp. 63-75) that the Dvāravatī style of Buddhist sculpture persisted at the time of the conquest of this state by the Khmers in the eleventh century, and since the Chalieng pottery such as I excavated at a depth of seven feet at U T'ong cannot be regarded as having been made before the eleventh century at earliest (R. S. le May, *JSS*, vol. xxxi, pt. 1, p. 67), I no longer consider that this city can be as old as the other well-known Dvāravatī cities that were situated nearer the sea. It may have been a later capital. Its excavation would therefore be likely to tell us more about the relation between the later Dvāravatī and earlier Thai culture of the region than to illumine the early history of Dvāravatī as I thought might be the case when I wrote "Some notes on the kingdom of Dvāravatī", *JGIS*, vol. v, page 30.

⁵ *BEFEO*, vol. xli, pl. xxviii and p. 236.

sites round the head of the Gulf of Siam, particularly Lop'buri, Nak'on Pathom, and P'ong Tük, archaeological remains have been found which include *stūpa* bases and monastic platforms recalling those of Anurādhapura, architectural fragments decorated with simple motifs of Gupta style, sculptured panels depicting the Buddha's first sermon, votive tablets, "wheels of the law," and stone sculptures of the Buddha either standing, with the robe covering both shoulders in north Indian fashion, or seated in the European posture, or "turning the wheel of the law".

There is no sign of development during the long period of more than five hundred years that this Buddhist culture of Gupta tradition endured. From a fairly close approach to the Gupta canon reached in some of the earliest and best Buddha figures, there is steady deterioration.

A northern Dvāravatī offshoot founded in the eighth century, Haripunjaya (Lamp'un), maintained its political independence and the Dvāravatī style of art into the twelfth century. The most interesting monument at this site is Wat Kukut, the remarkable analogy of which to the Sat Mahal Prasada of Ceylon has been pointed out by Claeys.¹

Malay Peninsula.—The imitation of a Gupta model is very evident in the Viṣṇu from Ch'aiya,² indeed it shows a close resemblance, especially as regards headdress and huge ear pendants, to the Kārttikeya of Bhumara.³ Similar figures are, or were until recently, to be seen at Ligor. Of Buddhist figures of pure Gupta style examples are known from Wieng Sra,⁴ Kedah,⁵ and Perak,⁶ while Dvāravatī style Buddhas are found

¹ J. Y. Claeys, *L'Archéologie du Siam*, Hanoi, 1931, p. 69.

² *Ars Asiatica*, vol. xii, pl. x, centre.

³ *MAI*, No. 16, pl. xiii, c.

⁴ *I. A. & L.*, vol. ix, No. 1, pl. v (i).

⁵ *JRAS*, 1946, pl. xv; *JRASMB*, vol. xx, No. 1, pls. i and ii.

⁶ *JRASMB*, vol. xviii, pt. 1, p. 50.

as far south as Ch'aiya. Remains of *stūpas* dating from the fifth or sixth century have been excavated on the coast of Kedah and Province Wellesley.¹

Sumatra.—Though Sumatran Śrīvijaya was strongly affected by the Gupta wave, and we know that it became a great Buddhist centre, archæological evidence is scanty. There is a fifth or sixth century bronze Buddha of Gupta style from Mount Seguntang,² and a stone Buddha from Jambi.³ A seventh century head of Viṣṇu from the neighbouring island of Bangka,⁴ closely resembling one of the Śi T'ep sculptures⁵ (it has similar earrings and raised rim of headdress), seems to be a product of this wave in which the features are already strongly mongolized.

PALLAVA

Ceylon.—In Ceylon Hindu Pallava works of the best style are confined to the splendid rock sculptures of Isurumuniya, namely the man and horse,⁶ and the elephants⁷ so reminiscent of the descent of the Ganges reliefs at Mahābālipuram. A stone Bodhisattva found in Ceylon has been recognized by Parānavitana as having Pallava affinities.⁸ There are also a few figures of somewhat inferior workmanship, notably the Avalokiteśvara at Kustarajala,⁹ the image in the round standing in front of the temple at Kurukkalmadam and the colossal Budurvegala group.¹⁰

¹ *JRASMB*, vol. xviii, pt. 1, pp. 5-10, vol. xx, pt. 1, pp. 3-5, and *JRAS*, 1946, p. 143.

² F. M. Schnitger, *Archæology of Hindoo Sumatra*, Leiden, 1937, pl. vi.

³ *ibid.* pl. xi.

⁴ *I. A. & L.*, vol. xi, No. 2, pl. i.

⁵ *I. A. & L.*, vol. x, No. 2, plate iii.

⁶ *CJS*, vol. i, pl. 49, 1.

⁷ *ibid.*, pl. 48, 2.

⁸ *I. A. & L.*, vol. xi, No. 1, p. 28 and pl. ii.

⁹ *CJS*, vol. ii, pt. 2, pls. 48 and 49.

¹⁰ *CJS*, vol. ii, pt. 1, pls. 34 and 35.

Burma.—Here remains attributable to the Pallava wave seem to be confined to a couple of Hindu sculptures from Old Prome, the mass of the people probably remaining Buddhist. One of them is a headless but otherwise well preserved relief showing Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī.¹ Though close to the Pallava style it shows certain iconographical divergences. The other figure, of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa, is of poor workmanship, "the artist knew his subject well but failed to give an artistic expression to it."²

Ray remarks that Śiva has hardly any place in the tradition of Burma, and is not mentioned in inscriptions, while nothing definitely identifiable as a *linga* has been found in the country.³

Central Siam.—While the kingdom of Dvāravatī remained overwhelmingly Buddhist, with the Gupta art style still surviving, some centres of Hinduism, as at Śi Mahā P'ōt, were evidently established. Dupont has shown⁴ that the Viṣṇus with cylindrical mitres and long robes from this site adhere closely to the Indian Pallava style, though probably dating from the eighth century or later.

Malay Peninsula.—In the same article Dupont has shown that the Pra No' Viṣṇu of Takuapa⁵ is a virtually pure Pallava product of probably seventh century. He also considers that the generally similar but less well-modelled Viṣṇus, likewise characterized by cylindrical mitre and ankle-length robe, found in the peninsula at Wieng Sra and Surat,⁶ as well as those above mentioned from Śi Mahā P'ōt, are later local imitations. Dupont also comes to the more general conclusion,⁷ fully endorsed

¹ Ray, *Brahmanical Gods in Burma*, fig. 2 and p. 75.

² *ibid.*, p. 27 and fig. 3.

³ *ibid.*, p. 51.

⁴ "Viṣṇu mitrés . . ."

⁵ *loc. cit.* pl. xxx, and *I. A. de L.*, vol. ix, 1, pl. ii.

⁶ *BEFEO*, vol. xlii, 2, pls. xxviii and xxxi.

⁷ *loc. cit.* p. 238.

by my own investigations, that although (I should have said "because") the Indian impact on the Peninsula, at least its central portion, was very strong "rien ne nous autorise à parler d'un art indo-malai définissable de la même manière que l'art khmer, l'art cham ou l'art indo-javanais".

I ascribe to Pallava colonists of the seventh century the Śiva temple remains I excavated in Kedah¹; and near to one of them was found a miniature shrine roof closely resembling the roof of a Pallava *ratha*. The later Śiva temples of the eleventh and twelfth centuries that I also excavated in Kedah seem to be decadent survivals of the same wave of influence. It is noteworthy that the terracotta Gaṇeśa found in one of these,² like the similar figure illustrated at the end of Schnitger's book,³ but in complete distinction from the usual pose of Indo-Javanese Gaṇeśas, is seated in the attitude of royal ease.

I have also called attention⁴ to the way in which another stone image of Viṣṇu from Wieng Sra seems to be a lifeless copy of a Pallava model, such as the probably eighth century Pallava Śiva which forms one of the Takuapa triad. The latter are probably to be identified as a Gangadhara group.⁵

Sumatra.—The only evidence appears to consist of a stone Bodhisattva and the torso of another.⁶ Their close resemblance to the Ceylon Bodhisattva mentioned above has been pointed out by D. Ghosh.⁷ Continuing South Indian contacts are evidenced by the Lubo Tuwa inscription of A.D. 1088, the finding of several cult objects, and the names of Batak tribes.⁸

¹ *JRASMB*, vol. xviii, pt. 1, sites 4-9.

² *ibid.*, pls. 71, 72.

³ *op. cit.*

⁴ *JRAS*, 1946, pl. xvii.

⁵ See Nilakanta Sastri, *JRASMB*, vol. xxii, pt. 1, p. 27.

⁶ Schnitger, *op. cit.* pl. x.

⁷ *JGIS*, vol. iv, pp. 125 ff.

⁸ "Notes on Archaeological Finds in Padang Lawas," *ABIA* for 1939.

PĀLA

Ceylon.—The importance of the Pāla expansion of the eighth century, carrying with it Mahāyāna Buddhism far and wide, has been generally recognized.¹ It was characterized largely by the Tantrism of the Vajrayāna school, showing a marked syncretism with Hinduism as is evident in the sculptures of the eighth century Paharpur temple of Bengal.²

In Ceylon this Vajrayānism came to the fore in the reign of Sena I (*circa* A.D. 848) and flourished side by side with Hīnayāna Buddhism until the eleventh century.³ Architecturally the remains of the Gedige and Building A of the Anurādhapura citadel,⁴ which can be dated eighth century on the strength of an inscription, are of great interest. In both there is a projection from the central part of each face such as is not known in South India but which recalls the plan of the Pāla temple of Paharpur.⁵ A number of eighth or ninth century Pāla bronzes are known from Ceylon. Coomaraswamy illustrates examples of Avalokiteśvara, Jambhala, and Vajrapāni,⁶ and there are others in the British Museum.

Burma.—From the eighth century to the fall of Pagan in the thirteenth, the art of Burma was little more than a reflection of that of the East Indian school. At Old Prome, besides ninth century votive tablets, stamped with Mahāyānist deities and brought by pilgrims from India, several Bodhisattva images have been found, including a small bronze and a gold figure with Pāla features.⁷ Two reliefs depicting Viṣṇu reposing on

¹ Grousset, "L'art Pāla dans l'Inde Extérieure," *Mélanges Linossier*, pp. 277-285; Cœdès, *Les États*, p. 165 f.

² *MASI*, No. 55.

³ S. Paranavitana, "Mahāyānism in Ceylon," *CJS*, vol. ii, pt. 1.

⁴ *MASC*, No. 3.

⁵ S. K. Saraswati in *JGIS*, vol. iv, p. 157.

⁶ *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, figs 297, 298, 299; *Bronzes from Ceylon*, 1914, p. 7, pl. xxvii.

⁷ Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, p. 91.

the serpent Ananta, of Pāla style, are known from Thaton.¹

At Pagan, besides the famous Brahmā reliefs of the Nanpaya temple,² the Hindu images of the Nat-hlaung temple also show close Pāla affinity, dating from not later than the eleventh century.³ Mahāyānism before, and even after, Anuruddha introduced Buddhism in A.D. 1057⁴ is evidenced by the large number of votive tablets (in *nāgarī* script of the ninth to thirteenth centuries), many of which, made locally, "slavishly imitated" East Indian models. Indeed Mahāyānist images up to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and frescoes as late as the thirteenth, as well as figures of the historical Buddha, continued to be made in a style closely imitating the contemporary art of Eastern India. "Sculptors from different centres of Bihar and Bengal must have migrated during the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries to Pagan, the capital city of Burma, and they alone should be held responsible for the large number of stone sculptures and bronzes that hail from Pagan."⁵ There is no sign of the growth of an Indo-Burmese art. When Dr. Ray, who has made an exhaustive study of the subject, speaks of "Burmanization" towards the end of the period, it seems that he means just decadence.⁶

Apart from numerous *stūpas*, there is at Pagan a very large number of temples which are all slight variations of a single type. The finest is the Ananda, founded about A.D. 1090. "There can be no doubt that the architects who planned and built the Ananda were

¹ Ray, *Brahmanical Gods in Burma*, pls. 5 and 6.

² *ibid.*, fig. 29.

³ *ibid.*, p. 40.

⁴ Perhaps from the Môn state of Haripunjaya, as a result of a "cultural accident"; see my "Anuruddha and the Thaton Tradition," *JRAS*, 1947.

⁵ Ray, "Sculptures and Bronzes from Pagan," *JISOA*, vol. ii, No. 1, p. 39.

⁶ Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 40 f, and "Paintings at Pagan", *JISOA*, vol. vi, p. 125 f.

Indians," states Duroiselle. "Everything in this temple from *sikhara* to basement, as well as the numerous stone sculptures found in its corridors and the terra-cotta plaques adorning its basement and terraces, bear the indubitable stamp of Indian genius and craftsmanship . . . the Ananda, though built in the Burmese capital, is an Indian temple."¹

Bearing in mind the much later date of the Pagan temples, their resemblance to the Paharpur temple, at least in exterior elevation, is striking.² Furthermore there seems to be little doubt that "thanks to the representation of similar terrace-roofed *sikhara*-topped temples of miniature paintings and stone images of Bengal, it is now clear that the type was derived from Bengal, and it is the total disappearance of the prototypes in the land of its origin which is responsible for the conjectures that have hitherto prevailed."³

There would further seem to be good reason to suppose that the wooden *phyathat*, or *prāsāda* spire topping later Burmese palaces and monasteries, and often regarded as the most truly Burmese element in the architecture of Burma, is derived, through the medium of the brick Pitakat Taik of Pagan (A.D. 1057), from a lost temple type of Bengal.⁴ The characteristic appearance of the *phyathat*, in common with that of many of the later Pagan temples, is a soaring tendency which in South-east Asia one associates with decadence.

There is nothing surprising in the fact that the decorative motifs in all these temples are the well-known Indian beadings, garlands, *kāla* heads disgorging chaplets, flower and foliage motifs, occasionally the scroll with recurved volutes. What is remarkable, is the

¹ "The Ananda Temple at Pagan," *MASI*, 56, p. 9.

² Duroiselle, loc. cit. p. 6 f; S. K. Saraswati, "Temples of Pagan," *JGIS*, vol. ix, 1942, No. 1.

³ S. K. Saraswati, "Temples of Bengal," *JISOA*, vol. ii, No. 2, Dec., 1934, p. 137.

⁴ Saraswati, loc. cit., p. 133.

restrained and sober manner of their application, so that often vast stretches of wall are left unadorned. This is very different from what one usually finds in eastern zone arts, for it is in wealth of design that local genius often most manifests itself.

Gateways and doors at Pagan have somewhat flamboyant arches ending in *makaras*. Though these are often so conventionalized as hardly to be recognizable, it is interesting to note that there is never any replacement by *nāgas*, as is general by this time in Java and Cambodia. To sum up, one may doubt if what is popularly known as Burmese art would ever have received that appellation had not the art of Bengal almost entirely disappeared.

Central Siam.—Here Hīnayāna Buddhism seems to have effectively resisted the claims of the Mahāyāna, with the result that Gupta art traditions continued in decadence until, and to some extent after the Khmer expansion westwards about A.D. 1000. However we have seen that Anuruddha of Burma, though a supporter of Hīnayāna Buddhism, employed East Indian craftsmen, and it is via Burma that Pāla art is closely reflected in the twelfth to thirteenth century sculpture and architecture of Ch'ieng Sen and Ch'ieng Mai in Northern Siam.

Malay Peninsula.—At Ch'aiya and Ligor a number of brick temples survive in the style of this period.¹ One of these, Wat Keu at Ch'aiya, is atypical in that it shows Cham influence as was first suggested by Coedès,² who also drew attention to the Cham appearance of a stone Lokeśvara from Ch'aiya.³ Perhaps the temple was built by a Cham trading community similar to the one that seems to have existed at about the same time in Cambodia, and the memory of which seems

¹ *I. A. & L.*, vol. ix, No. 1, 1935, pl. vi; Claeys, op. cit., pp. 13-33.

² *I. A. & L.*, 1927, p. 65 f.

³ *Ars Asiatica*, xii, p. 25, pl. xiv.

to be preserved in the name of the town Kompong Cham on the Mekong.¹ On the other hand Wat Keu's cruciform plan is no proof of Javanese influence. Neither this temple nor any of the others show any trace of Indo-Javanese ornament or of the so characteristic *kāla-makara* arch; indeed the others appear to be of essentially colonial Indian Pāla style, an appearance which in the "restored" temples is only very partially obscured. The considerable resemblance of Wat Mahā-thāt to the edifices in the Barabudur bas-reliefs is due to the Pāla influence in the Central Javanese temples.

Apart from the anomalous Wat Keu, therefore, the late eighth century building activity at these two sites of Ch'aiya and Ligor must be seen as the result of the importance that the control of the overland routes had for Śrīvijaya and which led to the Śrīvijayan conquest of this part of the Peninsula, as testified by the A.D. 775 Ligor inscription. The temples thus provide us with valuable evidence as to the style of the contemporary Pāla architecture of Śrīvijaya and Kaṭāha, of which nothing substantial has survived.

Though in Kedah I found ample evidence of Mahā-yānist activity of the period of the Pāla wave, only the foundations of temples remained. From these one could obtain practically no data of architectural style. It can only be said that Kedah sites 15 and 16, especially the former, were similar as regards plan, measurements, and orientation to the Sumatran temple Biara Sitokpajan.²

The images belonging to this period found in the Peninsula will be considered in the section on Indo-Malaysian sculpture.

Sumatra.—While Central Javanese influence seems evident in the South Sumatran remains at Lematang Hilir,³ which is not at all surprising in view of the

¹ Dupont, "Viṣṇu mitrés . . ."

² Cf. *OV*, 1920, p. 65 and pls.; 1925, p. 11 f; 1926, p. 25 f; revised plan in *OV*, 1930, with *JRASMB*, vol. xviii, pt. 1, fig. 11.

³ Krom, *Inleiding*, vol. ii, p. 425; Schnitger, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

Javanese origin of the Śailendras, I am inclined to think that this influence was very limited in effect. Certainly the relatively late remains in the northern half of the island at Muara Takus (eleventh to twelfth century) and Padang Lawas (twelfth to fourteenth centuries) are all decidedly Indian. At the former site the Malagai *stūpa*¹ has been compared by Stutterheim² to that of Giryek,³ the only large Pāla *stūpa* known. At Padang Lawas there is a series of square brick shrines, with a projection from the centre of each face, and with the superstructure supporting a *stūpa* after the manner of certain contemporary small shrines at Pagan.⁴ The ornamentation of all these North Sumatran temples is very severe and restrained, and in general comparable to that of the Pagan temples. The sculptural decoration and reliefs may be described as showing varying degrees of the Indianesque.

While we need not deny the probability of certain borrowings from the contemporary art of East Java—such as the presence and peculiarities of the temple-guardians, for example—as pointed out by Bosch,⁵ I think Krom was on firmer ground in stressing their far from Javanese character. Thus *makaras* sometimes terminate the balustrades of the temple stairways. In Java by this time they would have been lost or else replaced by *nāgas*.

At the same time these temples show so little originality that I think we are not entitled to coin a term "Indo-Sumatran" for them, if we mean by that any special development of, or variation from, a colonial-Indian style. While most of the earlier Mahāyānist

¹ *ibid.*, pls. xviii–xx.

² *Tjandi Baraboeoer*, p. 61.

³ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxx, pl. i, p. 84.

⁴ de Beylié, *op. cit.*, fig. 219.

⁵ *OV*, 1930. There is good historical evidence for East Java influence having been brought to bear on Sumatra, both in the late thirteenth and in the fourteenth century (Cœdès, *Les États*, pp. 337, 385).

images from Sumatra belong to the style we shall be considering in the next section, those found at Padang Lawas show purely Pāla affinities. One, a bronze Amitabha¹ is reminiscent of the Burma type. An image of Heruka, one of the most popular of the Vajrayāna gods,² closely resembles a tenth century Nairatma image from Bihar,³ as Schnitger remarked.

THE INDO-MALAYSIAN IMAGE STYLE

In general it may be said that Indian sculpture and relief work show a remarkable degree of naturalism and plasticity of modelling where the images of deities are not concerned. And when the Indian artist could get right away from purely religious subjects, as in the terracottas of Paharpur, he often shows a humorous realism or an ability to give free reign to his fancy in frolicsome phantasy. That this light-hearted freedom was transplanted to the western zone of Greater India and that the tradition was there maintained by the local craftsmen we cannot doubt. This is seen, for example, in the well-known stuccos of Nak'on Pathom, and in the dancing figures in relief at Padang Lawas, Sumatra.⁴

On the other hand, both in India, and consequently in the western zone of Greater India, the deity sculpture soon became conventionalized, adopting certain postures, hand poses, and rigidly defined physical proportions, all controlled by the canonical requirements of the *sāstras*. In striving thus to portray and preserve the reposeful ideal of Indian godhead they gave less attention to naturalistic modelling and also left relatively little opportunity for stylistic variation. This is an example of the recognized principle which we noted in the

¹ Schnitger, op. cit., pl. xl.

² *ibid.*, pl. xxxiv.

³ Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Iconography*, pl. 30.

⁴ Schnitger, op. cit., pls. xxxiii-xxxv.

Introduction, whereby orthodox religious influences sometimes attempt to freeze certain aspects of a culture.

✓ In Cambodia and Champa, as we shall see later, local genius makes itself felt in the deity sculpture almost as early as it does in other branches of art, and it profoundly transforms the appearance of Khmer and Cham sculpture by the end of the ninth century. In Java, however, the situation is quite different. While local genius manifests itself in architecture by exercising power of selection as early as the eighth century, and soon afterwards becomes strongly in evidence in the moulding of design, yet an image style persists from the eighth until the twelfth century which is virtually indistinguishable from the style found during that period in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. If we include the very few Indo-Balinese deity images known (eighth to tenth century),¹ the images other than the Gupta style Buddhas that have been found at Sambas in West Borneo,² and at Mt. Kombeng, East Borneo,³ we have a homogeneous style cutting across zonal boundaries. I propose to refer to this style as the "Indo-Malaysian".

This style does not include the "internationally Buddhist" (the term is Stutterheim's) type of image, which are purely Pāla. I referred individually to one or two examples found at Padang Lawas in Sumatra and we shall see more of them when we come to Java, where a rich crop of them appeared as a result of late Pāla influence in the thirteenth century. As Indo-Malaysian I am referring rather to the common type of image from all the countries mentioned which, though very Indian in appearance, corresponds to nothing actually made in India. It would appear that it gets its homogeneity from a certain combination of Indian influences. We must now try to determine their nature.

¹ W. F. Stutterheim, *Indian Influences in Old-Balinese Art*, pl. 1.

² *JRASMB*, vol. xxii, pt. 4, 1949, pls. 1-5.

³ *OV*, 1925, pls. 30-34.

In his well-known paper "The Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu-Javanese Art" ¹ Dr. A. J. Bernet Kempers tried to ascertain the extent of Pāla influence in Indo-Javanese and related sculpture. When speaking of the Central Javanese Bodhisattvas he states that, apart from a few images "which with more or less probability can be connected with Pāla art, there exist very many Hindu-Javanese bronzes which exhibit no stylistic relation whatever to the North Indian school of art. . . . Pāla influence appears to have had no share in the evolution of Central Javanese art . . . the Pāla and Pāla type bronzes in Hindu-Javanese art have had a somewhat exceptional position." ² He further maintained that the bronze Bodhisattvas of Ch'aiya (Malay Peninsula) and of Palembang (Sumatra) show no Pāla features. ³

With this conclusion I cannot agree. Indeed it seems to have been at least tacitly disregarded by many subsequent authors who evidently did not readily accept Kempers' view. But so far as I know it is only Devaprasad Ghosh who has given adequate reasons for holding a different opinion. In referring to the Palembang Bodhisattvas he said that "their design and conception along with certain details, e.g. *jaṭāmukuta*, the full squarish face, the necklace and *uttariya* (shawl), and lastly the swelling sensuous body fashioned with delicate touches are reminiscent of the Pāla art of Bengal." ⁴ And again, with regard to the Palembang Maitreya in particular, he refers to the "peculiar *jaṭāmukuta*, a marked advance in the ornamental aspect, the undulating lines of the *uttariya* running across the breast, the fine *upavita* (Brahmanic cord) dangling loosely along the left side of the torso, the nature of the

¹ Reprint from *Bijdragen*, vol. xc, fasc. 1, Leiden, 1933.

² loc. cit., p. 78 f.

³ loc. cit., p. 74.

⁴ *JGIS*, vol. i, p. 35.

jewellery and particularly the bowl-like curves of waist-line." ¹

It will be noted that some of the characteristics mentioned by Ghosh are of a general nature, such as the full squarish face and the flowing curves of the swelling sensuous body. These are probably the features that have struck more superficial observers, and I think that they point in the right direction. I also think that they indicate the flaw in Kempers' method, a method so obviously painstaking that one would naturally hesitate before disagreeing on general grounds.

As Kempers correctly observes, the normal Indo-Malaysian images lack such specialized features of Pāla art as loops or ribbons behind the ears, shawls or bodices of female deities, frequent presence of attendants, Pāla form of nimbus (disc or ornamental band), Pāla arrangements of throne parts, images modelled on backing and pedestal with feet. But lack of such peculiar features is not in itself sufficient to deny the existence of a generalized Pāla influence in the typical Indo-Malaysian sacred images.

The reason for this is that, while we know that a people under strong foreign influence are wont to accept the new cultural pattern as a whole, we also know that individual traits incompatible with former usages are likely to be rejected. Now many of these specialized Pāla features might well have been rejected as incompatible with former Indo-Malaysian usages. That these usages were largely governed by Pallava (in part also by Gupta) preferences is indicated by such positive traits in the Indo-Malaysian images as pedestals without feet, a plain nimbus, early features in the throne parts ² and the tendency, not noticed by Kempers, for South Indian type upper waist belt (crossed belts in female deities), as well as multiple hip girdles or semicircular folds of

¹ *JGIS*, vol. iii, p. 53.

² See Kempers' interesting throne analysis in *I. A. & L.*, 1935, p. 99.

drapery, all of which are generally absent even in late Pāla art, to invade the attire of at least a proportion of Indo-Malaysian Bodhisattvas.

It is probably simplest, and perhaps most nearly accurate too, to regard these characteristics as governed by a tendency, due to the extreme conservatism in deity sculpture, for the effects of earlier waves to survive, and consequently for image style to lag behind the rest of the art in reflecting or incorporating subsequent waves of influence. It is owing to the same tendency, in those arts in which local genius is otherwise active, that we find that the deity sculpture is less ready to change than is architecture or design. But this rejection of specialized Pāla traits not in accordance with Pallava interpretation of the *śāstras*, should not blind us to the presence of a strongly evinced if generalized Pāla influence in Indo-Malaysian images. This conclusion is amply supported by the very definite Pāla influence in contemporary central Javanese temples, as well as in the Malayan and later Sumatran ones. It is regrettable that Kempers ignored this parallel source of evidence.

To postulate, as has so often been done, that images of this type from Sumatra, Malaya, Bali, and Borneo, however virtually indistinguishable from Central Javanese products they may appear, are necessarily Indo-Javanese, or products of Indo-Javanese influence, seems to indicate a too Java-centric viewpoint. Such an attitude was perhaps inevitable so long as the archæology of the Malaysian region outside Java remained practically unknown, and first impressions die hard. Only recently Professor Heine-Geldern called pointed attention to "that all too frequent error which consists in believing that the region where a given culture has been discovered for the first time or the peoples among whom it was first observed must have been the centres of its diffusion". And he continues: "If, by any chance, the Hindu-Buddhist monuments of Java had

been known to archaeologists prior to those of India, we might be sure that the latter would be referred to as 'Javanese'." ¹ And even as it was, until Bernet Kempers proved their Indian style and origin, Dr. Bosch held that the Pāla images found in the monastery of, Bālaputra at Nālandā were almost all "purely Hindu-Javanese". ²

However, one may doubt that the combination of Indian influences that went to form the Indo-Malaysian style of image took place separately wherever such images are found. It seems more likely that it occurred in one or two closely inter-related centres of major importance, such as Kaṭāha and Śrīvijaya, and then was diffused outwards, without necessarily implying political domination. Consequently, while one would be justified in terming Indo-Malaysian style images found in Sumatra or Malaya "Śrīvijayan", it would lead to confusion to apply a term with such political implications to similar images found in Java or Borneo. Admittedly it is quite possible that West Borneo came under Śrīvijayan rule after the seventh century. But that could not be proved on the evidence of the Sambas hoard of images alone, as Prof. Nilakanta Sastri appears to suppose. ³

¹ *Far Eastern Quarterly*, vol. vii, No. 4, 1948, p. 445.

² Kempers, loc. cit., p. 10.

³ "A Note on the Sambas Finds," *JRASMB*, vol. xxii, pt. 1, p. 19.

CHAPTER III

PROTOHISTORY AND EARLY RELIGIONS

(MAINLY AS CONCERNING THE EASTERN ZONE)

In studying the western zone we did not have to take into consideration the pre-Indian civilizations of the region, for the reason that extreme Indian acculturation rendered them ineffective as a force in culture change. On the other hand in the Greater Indian cultures of the eastern zone they are, as we shall see, always operative through local genius and moreover tend to resurge as Indian influences slacken. But, though our attention will consequently be mainly directed towards appreciating these pre-Indian civilizations as they existed in the seats of the Greater Indian civilizations of the eastern zone, we have to some extent to consider them throughout South-east Asia. This is partly because only thus can we understand how they came to spread throughout the countries in which we are now primarily interested. It is also because it is often in mountainous regions of the western zone, where the ancient civilizations managed to survive the Indian colonization of the lowlands, that we find valuable evidence as to the nature of these civilizations. This enables us to form a fuller picture of them than we could obtain from the eastern zone alone.

Our factual knowledge of these protohistoric civilizations still leaves much to be desired. This must inevitably be the case while so much has to depend on chance finds, for very few protohistoric sites have been either discovered or systematically excavated. Nevertheless, as a result of the brilliant synthetic studies of Prof. R. Heine-Geldern, which represent a great advance on

previous vague conceptions, we are in a position to form a tolerably clear idea as to the character and distribution of these cultures throughout our area.

Heine-Geldern's valuable summary "Prehistoric Research in the Netherlands Indies"¹ provides a large body of the facts needed in connection with the present inquiry. Since, as elsewhere in this work, I shall indulge in no unnecessary descriptions, the reader who requires more descriptive material is referred to the very full bibliography Heine-Geldern gives. Apart from this basic summary, I have naturally had to turn to other works by him and by other authors for material bearing on certain aspects of special interest to us here, or dealing with the protohistory of those parts of South-east Asia less fully covered in Heine-Geldern's summary than is Indonesia. That applies also to the deeper significance of the religious beliefs. Of great interest for the important question of the relation of the Ho-Munda and other megalithic cultures of India to those of South-east Asia is C. von Furer-Haimendorf's article "The Problem of Megalithic Cultures in Middle India",² which appeared in the same year as Heine-Geldern's publication.

(1) THE OLDER MEGALITHIC

It is in the late Neolithic that we can consider that the rather arbitrary bounds that divide prehistory from the protohistory that concerns us here have been crossed. Heine-Geldern has shown that there is good reason to believe that what we may call the Older Megalithic Culture entered continental South-east Asia from the north via the main river valleys, between 2500 and 1500 B.C., probably coming in several waves. It came as part of what he calls the Quadrangular Adze culture which was the chief though not the only type of late Neolithic to reach South-east Asia.

¹ In *Science and Scientists in the Netherlands Indies*, New York, 1945.

² In *Man in India*, vol. xxv, June, 1945.

Heine-Geldern enumerates as follows the traits that can probably be considered as characteristic of this Older Megalithic Culture: "The planting of rice and millet, the special form of reaping knife used for harvesting rice, the brewing of beer from rice or millet, the raising of pigs, the raising of cattle or buffaloes for sacrificial purposes, a certain kind of technique for producing pottery, the manufacture of bark-cloth, the rectangular house standing on piles, the custom of head-hunting, the custom of erecting megalithic monuments as memorials of sacrificial feasts or as memorials to the dead, and a special type of art."¹ He considers that the outrigger-canoe, a device which ultimately enabled the Polynesians to cross vast stretches of the Pacific, was invented on the rivers of Burma and Indochina.

On grounds of the form of the megaliths and similarity of connected beliefs, Heine-Geldern came to the conclusion that they were identical or at least closely related whether found in Oceania, Central Asia, India, or ancient Palestine. He thought that this indicated common origin somewhere in the Mediterranean region. The discovery of menhirs, megalithic alignments and stone circles in Inner Tibet may afford an indication of the route followed.²

In South-east Asia the Older Megalithic is still alive in pure form in Assam, the Nias Islands and, in a less vigorous form, in the mountains of Annam and in various parts of the Malay Archipelago. There are many Older Megalithic type remains which it is difficult to date. Of these the best known series is the one in the Pasemah highlands of Sumatra which was studied by van der Hoop³ to which may now be added the Central Bornean series discovered by T. Harrisson.⁴ That the Older

¹ *op. cit.*, p. 141.

² Fürer-Haimendorf, *loc. cit.*, p. 86.

³ *Megalithic Remains in South Sumatra*, Zutphen, 1932.

⁴ "Megalithic Remains in South Sumatra and Central Borneo," *Journ. of the South Seas Soc.*, vol. v, pt. 2, pp. 41-5.

Megalithic must have passed through Central Burma on its way to Sumatra, and consequently that the Mōns must have been megalithic builders, we could infer on geographical grounds; but this is actually confirmed by the discovery of a dolmen at Pagan which owes its fortunate survival there no doubt to the fact that it was used by later Buddhists as a convenient offering table.¹

The Older Megalithic monuments consist of "menhirs, single or in groups, dolmens (not used as graves), stone seats, stone terraces, stone pyramids, megalithic assembly places, various types of stone tombs, etc."² Van der Hoop also mentions stone avenues and these are also represented in the Central Bornean series. Stone tanks are sometimes built in connection with Older Megalithic tombs. Stairways and causeways are a special feature of megalithic construction among the Nagas of Assam. The Naga *dahu* is a stepped pyramid marking the grave of the clan's remote ancestor, and Prof. Hutton compares these monuments to the *ahus* and *maraes* of the Polynesians. An interesting point, in connection with what we are going to say later about related religious beliefs, is that one Naga at Khonoma told Hutton that the memorial stone of an ancestor actually *was* the deceased.³ In many of the islands, besides the menhirs, primitive stone statues are found, these being of a severely frontal and monumental character, the so-called "Polynesian" figures of Java.

The Older Megalithic art is symbolic and scanty, consisting of simple geometrical designs, such as rosettes, lozenges, symbols of the sun and moon, carved cattle heads, carved women's breasts as symbols of fertility, pigs' heads as signs of wealth, all these being used as

¹ Yule, *Mission to the Court of Ava*, London, 1858, p. 52 and fig. 21.

² Heine-Geldern, loc. cit., p. 151.

³ J. H. Hutton, "The Use of Stone in the Naga Hills," *Journ. of the Royal Anthropological Inst.*, 1926, pp. 71-82.

paintings or carvings from the point of view of their magical power rather than as ornament. Some Naga peoples place carved figures of lizards, leopards, etc., on the main pillars or front walls of the men's houses, also no doubt as magic symbols. This style survives in pure form among the Nagas of Assam, some mountain peoples in West Burma and in North Luzon, and in a fairly pure form also in Nias. The ancestral sculpture, and such motifs as lizards and buffalo-heads, of the Bataks of Sumatra also appear to be rooted in the Older Megalithic.

While the Angamis are the chief megalith builders among the Nagas to-day, some other Naga tribes, such as the Aos and Semas, erect similar forms of wood. "Forked posts, whose erection entails less effort than the quarrying or dragging or menhirs, are sometimes retained where the other elements of a megalithic culture have largely decayed."¹ And the same authority says of the Korkus, the westernmost of the Indian tribes with "Austroasiatic" languages, "we see here a branch of megalithic culture where stone has been almost completely replaced by wood."² In Nias nowadays ancestor figures are often made of wood. The Badoeys of West Java no longer put any memorials on their graves as they did formerly.³ And the Lawas of Northern Siam now substitute wood for stone memorials.⁴

Whatever the original form, it seems to me possible that many Môn-Khmer and Malayo-Polynesian peoples who once made megaliths might, through cultural loss, later have turned to wood. Some, who still possess such a typically Older Megalithic trait as the carving of animal effigies on the front pillars of their houses, may

¹ Fürer-Haimendorf, loc. cit., p. 76.

² *ibid.*, p. 78.

³ Van Tricht, *Djawa*, vol. ix, 1929, p. 52.

⁴ *JSS*, vol. xxxi, pt. 2, p. 179.

once have had a fully megalithic culture. And an important inference is that one cannot expect Dayaks and other apparently primitive Malayo-Polynesian speaking peoples of to-day to supply an exact analogy as to the condition of the local people prior to the arrival of Indian influences.

We may now consider in a little more detail the character of the Older Megalithic as it is represented in those parts of the eastern zone in which a major Greater Indian civilization was later to develop.

Java.—In East Java the best preserved Older Megalithic monuments are the group situated on the Yang plateau, Argapura Mountains.¹ Although their date is uncertain they seem hardly, if at all, to have been touched by Hinduism.

At an altitude of 8,000 metres on the plateau, among craters and fuming solfataras, they are the highest situated of all the antiquities of Java. They consist of a number of regular and irregular stone terrace structures. Sanctuary IV (see frontispiece) is the best preserved. Its three terraces are faced with unworked stone, and one reaches the lower terrace by a median stairway flanked on the left by a tall andesite menhir. A similar stairway flanked by menhirs leads up to the second terrace. At the rear of this there is a walled enclosure containing two small roofless buildings which Schnitger thought might have served to store jars containing human bones. Thence another median stairway leads to an altar crowned with a menhir. In the right side of the altar is a niche surrounding a solfatara. Schnitger thought that this solfatara must have been believed to have been the entrance to the realm of the ancestors who from time to time came up in the fumes and rested on the menhirs. The resemblance

¹ De Jong in *Tijds. Kon. Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, 1937 and 1940; Schnitger, "Les Terrasses Mégalithiques de Java," *RAA*, vol. xiii, p. 104 f.

of this type of structure to the *ahus* and *maracs* of Polynesia was first remarked by Stutterheim.¹

At Kosala and other sites in West Java there are the remains of megalithic terraces and statues which, as we shall see, seem to be mainly the relatively recent products of a resurgence of megalithic culture amongst the once partly Hinduized peoples of Sunda. But, whatever its age, there exists at Lebak Sibedoe a very remarkable monument, the importance of which was recognized by van der Hoop.² It consists of a small four-stepped stone pyramid, 6 metres high, situated on the top of a hill. The pyramid has a front terrace with a menhir standing on a pedestal of stones. Near by stands a stone terrace of only two steps. Later³ van der Hoop compares them to "terrace graves" in Sumatra and to Polynesian sanctuaries. Schnitger⁴ boldly terms the pyramid a symbol of the cosmic mountain.

At Penampihan⁵ on the eastern slope of Mount Wilis, there are three stone terraces which seem to represent a late survival of the Older Megalithic. On the lower terrace there is a stone boat which formerly had a large serpent head. On the other side of the mountain, at Pasir, there is a similar boat with a winged demon at the prow. Schnitger compares them to the Boats of the Dead found on the Bronze Age drums, but the idea here may date from the Older Megalithic since the Boat of the Dead was known in Babylonian culture. But it has been claimed that the soul boat of the Kayans of Borneo and in Polynesia is a relic of migration, secondarily applied to the journey of the soul.⁶

¹ "The so-called Lingga-sanctuary of the Argapoera in Java," *Third Congress of Oostersch Genootschap*, Leiden, 1923; *Bull. of Raffles Museum*, Series B, 1937, p. 147.

² *op. cit.*, p. 63 f.

³ *ibid.*, p. 142.

⁴ *loc. cit.*, p. 103.

⁵ Schnitger, *loc. cit.*, p. 112.

⁶ R. Moss, *Life after Death in Oceania*, Oxford, 1925, p. 31.

Champa.—Since some Moi tribes referred to below are Cham speaking, it is probable that the Chams were originally Older Megalithic.¹ But since the Chams probably underwent extreme acculturation by the Dong-So'n civilization, in the main path of the spread of which they were situated, it would not be cause for surprise if they had entirely lost the Older Megalithic.

Cambodia.—Prof. Heine-Geldern kindly called my attention to the fact that the Bronze Age drum named Makalamau, itself a product of the second or third century A.D., shows certain Older Megalithic features in the animal figures depicted on the front and rear of the house. If this drum was really cast in Fu-nan, as Pelliot thought, this would point to the survival of an Older Megalithic element in the art of that period in Cambodia. At that time, as Heine-Geldern has shown,² Chinese certainly, and perhaps Indian acculturation, can be seen at work, remarkable documentary evidence as to the way in which the earlier civilizations were gradually superseded in this area. Moreover, the process illustrated by this drum seems to be similarly demonstrated in some granite structures excavated by Malleret at Oc Eo, Cochinchina. While he detected Gupta influence, he thought that they were largely "products of an autochthonous industry which was directly derived from the habits of the construction of megaliths".³

We have no more right to expect to find megalithic monuments extant in Cambodia than we have, for instance, in the plains of Burma, where only a single

¹ The late Mlle. Colani in her last work *Emploi de la pierre en des temps reculés* (Soc. des amis du vieux Hué, 1943) described ancient stone terraces, irrigation tanks, etc., of unknown origin, on basalt outcrops in the centre of Quang-tri province, Annam. Seidenfaden, in a review (*JSS.* xxxv. pt. 2, 1944) inclines to the belief that they are the work of a Moi people, whose descendants have long since been driven back to the mountains.

² "The Drum Named Makalamau," *India Antiqua*, Leiden, 1947, pp. 167-179.

³ "The Buried Town of Oc Eo," *ABIA*, 1940-7, p. liii.

fortunate relic gives direct proof that a megalithic civilization once existed there. Though Cambodia never underwent the extreme Indianization that did Burma, it became the seat of an advanced later civilization and it is common knowledge to all archæologists that later stone-using people are as quick to utilize the monuments of their forebears as are modern public works departments to exploit the stonework of the later civilizations. However, Seidenfaden mentions¹ stone circles at three places in eastern Siam. They are probably due to early Khmers, although at one site a stone bears an eighth century inscription. Apart from these we must look for evidence that the Khmers were formerly megalith builders to the customs of non-Indianized peoples speaking Môn-Khmer languages who survive in neighbouring mountainous areas. We can in fact find abundant evidence of this sort along the route which the early Môn-Khmers must have followed down the great river valleys of Further India.

Furthest to the west, in the hills of Assam, the Khasis, a tribe with a Môn-Khmer language, are great megalith builders (menhirs, stone tables, purificatory tanks, etc.).² In Burma megalithic remains (menhirs and dolmens) have been reported in some of the Wild Wa villages; and stone topped posts with skulls, or sometimes wooden figures, line the approaches to villages in the manner of megalithic avenues.³ Nearer at hand, the Lawas of Northern Siam, closely related to both Wa and Khmers, until quite recently erected menhirs, as we know from the fact that such memorials have been found near their deserted villages.⁴ Stone terraces probably attributable to them exist on Doi

¹ *JSS*, vol. xxix, pp. 159 f; *BEFEO*, vol. xxii, pp. 61, 90.

² P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, London, 1914.

³ J. G. Scott, *Gazetteer of Burma and the Shan States*, 1900-01, part i, vol. i, chap. 9, pp. 499 and 514; Willy A. Prestre, *Piste inconnue au pays des chasseurs de têtes*, Paris, 1946, plate facing p. 160.

⁴ *JSS*, vol. xxxi, pp. 45-7, and pt. ii, p. 179 f.

Suthep mountain, near Chiengmai.¹ The Lawas also place carved figures of animals on the front walls of their men's houses.²

It is among some of the Moi tribes, inhabiting the jungles of the Annam mountain chain which bounds the Khmer country on the east, that we can observe a definite, though degraded, Older Megalithic culture which is still alive to-day. The Moi bury their dead in coffins made from tree trunks and the tomb itself varies from a low earth mound to a considerable tumulus.³ This is sometimes surrounded by a palisade, the main stakes of which, taller than the others, are carved as male or female human figures. The squatting figures especially resemble the usual type of Older Megalithic statue. And some of the figures⁴ have the head prolonged above as two horns, as is the case also in Nias.⁵ Sometimes⁶ carved wood animal figures on poles stand beside the tumulus, and these are reminiscent of the stone deer or other animals on pillars which are such a feature of the Nias culture.⁷ Over the Moi grave there is frequently raised an elaborately decorated roof structure or house. Sometimes its side beams are carved with symbolic animal and geometrical figures.⁸ Or the roof is decorated with typically Older Megalithic rosette painted designs.⁹

Another point of interest about the Mois is that some of the tribes at least use a tool or weapon that is undoubtedly the prototype of the favourite classical Khmer weapon the *phgak*, and which, incidentally, was not used

¹ *JSS*, vol. xxxi, pt. 1, p. 42.

² "The Drum named Makalamau." loc. cit., p. 168.

³ Henri Maitre, *Les Jungles Moi*, Paris, 1912, pp. 226-9, fig. 18, pls. 34, 35, 67-9.

⁴ op. cit., pl. 35.

⁵ Edwin M. Loeb, *Sumatra*, 1935, pl. 37.

⁶ Maitre, op. cit., pls. 67, 68.

⁷ Schnitger, "Les Monuments megalithiques de Nias," *RAA*, vol. xiii, 1939, pl. xiv.

⁸ Maitre, op. cit., pl. 67.

⁹ *ibid.*, fig. 18, pl. 34.

by the Chams. This weapon's curious shape has excited considerable attention among archæologists. Aymonier¹ shows a Moi (Stieng) tribesman carrying the modern tool across his shoulder just as the Khmers on the bas-reliefs are seen to carry the *phgak*. If the Moi culture is Older Megalithic, the *phgak* must be regarded as one of the elements of its material culture that persisted among the Khmers after Indianization. It also appears to have found its way into the Iron Age culture of Malaya in the similarly shaped *tulang mawas* weapons or tools, one of which in the Raffles Museum, Singapore, is said to have come from somewhere in Indochina. On the other hand the Khmers lacked the keris, a weapon of Dong-So'n origin (see page 129). While it is most characteristic of Javanese and Malays, it was also known to the Chams, probably since early times as some examples appear to be ancient.²

I now conclude as follows as to the question whether the Khmers were originally possessed of the Older Megalithic culture: In view of the mass of evidence as to the early culture of Môn-Khmer peoples, and the fact that we know that the ancestors of the Indianized Mônns were megalith-builders, although one would not suspect it from their later cultural history, it seems difficult to entertain the slightest doubt that Khmer culture was formerly Older Megalithic.

We must now consider the religious aspect of the Older Megalithic culture. After wide comparative study Heine-Geldern came to the conclusion that "with very few and unimportant exceptions, the megaliths are connected with special notions concerning life after death; that the majority are erected in the course of rites destined to protect the soul from the dangers believed to threaten it in the underworld or on its way

¹ *Le Cambodge*, vol. i, fig. 9.

² M. Colani, "Essai d'Ethnographie Comparée," *BEFEO*, vol. xxxvi, pp. 225-7.

there, and to assure eternal life either to the persons who erect the monuments as their own memorials while alive, or to those to whom they are erected after their death ; that at the same time the megaliths are destined to serve as a link between the dead and the living and to enable the latter to participate in the wisdom of the dead ; that they are thought to perpetuate the magic qualities of the persons who had erected them or to whom they had been erected, thereby furthering the fertility of men, livestock, and crops and promoting the wealth of future generations.”¹

This is an admirable summary of the anthropological evidence, but for an understanding of the deeper significance of the Older Megalithic ritual we must consider an important article by Paul Mus.² It is true that Mus’ “civilization of the monsoons” is a concept that does not accord with what we know of the means of diffusion of the basic cultures of South-east Asia ; but this does not in the least detract from the value of his studies of the ancient religious thought. The reason for this is that there is little difference between the religious beliefs of the Older and Younger Megalithic cults, the difference between the two civilizations being very largely in form of material expression.

✓ The basis of these widespread religious beliefs is the deification of the lifegiving power of the soil. The need had been felt to give such an abstract deity a concrete form in order to render him approachable for intercession. Primitively this objective may have been attained through human sacrifice, the victim temporarily housing the god ; but it is an improvement when the god can be concentrated in a tree, or better, in a sacred stone under a tree. This stone is not the god’s lodging but is the god himself, the deified energy of the soil.

¹ Heine-Geldern, “Prehistoric . . .”, p. 149.

² “Cultes Indiens et indigènes au Champa,” *BEFEO*, vol. xxxiii, pt. 1, pp. 387-410.

And this constitutes a definite advance on simple animism.

To get in touch with the formless god now concentrated and thus rendered approachable, a suitable medium is needed. This can be a human sacrifice, but more conveniently a priest, especially the chief, acting as delegate of the group. Simultaneously with the stone who is god, he, for a time, also becomes god. He is divine because he relays from the god the power to fecundate animals and crops. But the best link of all is naturally the dead chief, the ancestor, who in his lifetime took his part in these rites and has now become mixed with the god (the soil) himself. He becomes identified with the god—we recall at this juncture the Naga tribesman at Khonoma who, though naturally less able to explain the inner significance than is M. Mus, remarked that the memorial stone actually *was* the ancestor. Similarly Fürer-Haimendorf speaks of the Bondos of Orissa embracing the newly erected stones like persons.¹ But the god himself is greater, Mus explains, than the ancestor because the latter belongs only to a specific place and time, and can disappear when family or dynasty are overthrown. The great formless Earth God, however, remains immortal. Thus it is only a specific and local manifestation of the Earth God that the ancestor becomes.

Mus shows that there is good reason to believe that the wooden ancestor tablet of the Chinese was once the wood or stone ancestor tablet of the Earth God, and he compares it with the *kut* memorial stones of the Chams. These, placed in the sacred rice field, materialize simultaneously the Earth God and the ancestor. In village India he points to similar practices. Fürer-Haimendorf too has some interesting data on the same subject. He states that the Bastar Gonds set up their menhirs on the hereditary clan land of the deceased, and adds that the

¹ Fürer-Haimendorf, loc. cit., p. 77.

Nagas of Assam show even stronger attachment to ancestral village sites.¹

Thus Mus gives us a fuller insight into what appears to be the function of the menhir and its derivatives. And he enables us to see that in the more highly developed communities the specific local god of the capital city rules the lesser specific earth gods of the villages—the divine regents of the quarters—a system necessarily doubled on the material plane by the king at the head of his provincial functionaries.

Such a religion, as has been said, represents an advance on simple animism; although with increasing anthropomorphism there is often a return to the animistic idea of a spirit lodged in the stone. The chief difference, however, between such a deity as we have been considering as basic to this cult and a god of the nomads is his localized character. As Mus puts it, he is above all a deity of possession. The very impersonality of the god, Mus tells us, is not a primitive feature, for it denotes collective thought and the insistence of the people on their legal right of access to the god of their land. If sometimes we see the god represented as a brute stone, while at the same time he is incarnated in chief, priest, or statue, it is not that the former is just the persistence of the primitive concept, but that the feeling of having constructed a bond between people and their land deity is strengthened by venerating him simultaneously amorphously and in human form. For thus everyone is enabled to visualize the passage of the originally abstract god into his manifestation, and this gives a more vivid sensation of his presence.

In Brahmanic India the Vedic nature gods lent themselves to the service of the ancient indigenous religion, the priests and kings as gods on earth establishing contact with the Cosmos through the ritual of the sacrifice. The pre-Aryan earth gods, or local tutelary

¹ Fürer-Haimendorf, loc. cit., pl. 76.

genii as they often were, became known as *yakṣas*, spirits who perforce had to be propitiated. And in the process of fusion which produced the classic cultures of India, the more important were identified with the Vedic nature gods. In particular Śiva, originally Rudra, the storm god, became fixed to the soil, under the new conditions of stability, as chief Earth God. His *liṅga*, emblem of fertility indeed, was also the inheritor of the *yakṣa's* stone.

As such, the *liṅga* venerated in the village, or even in the capital of the realm, does not represent the abstract Śiva in his heaven, but a local Śiva, equivalent of the local earth god. In other words it is a specific appearance of Śiva, not the absolute Śiva. A parallel union of Viṣṇu with various local deities led to the doctrine of the *avatars*, but it could not make the same appeal as the cult of the *liṅga*.

In the ancient ritual of the sacred stone, holy water poured on it ran down and fertilized the earth. In the Hindu cult the symbolism was improved by the *liṅga* being set in a stone basin representing the whole kingdom. And if further proof were needed of the *liṅga's* originally earthy connection, it is provided, Mus reminds us, by the fact that the most sacred *liṅgas* are regarded as having issued magically from the ground, while their destruction means the downfall of the kingdom. From the *liṅga* the god can be evoked by priestly ritual for, while with the Aryans the chief was god, in the fusion the priests in practice take over the king's godlike role.

Śiva was of course sometimes represented anthropomorphically and, most significantly, as Mus shows, in the form of the Mukhaliṅga, where the god can be seen in the act of issuing from the sacred stone. When the Mukhaliṅga is four-faced we have the god issuing simultaneously towards the four points of the compass. This is symbolic of that religious and political organization which, founded on the conception of the

radiation of the divine power from a centre to the four quarters, through the four chief ministers or feudatories, is attested throughout the ancient East.

It is the fact that a cultural fusion had already taken place in India that made the product the more easily assimilable in Greater India. But in the western zone it underwent no special development as the result of any local bias. It is in the eastern zone inscriptions that it is so frequently impressed upon us that while the king is a god visible in this world, the essence of royalty, the secret personality of the king, that is to say of the local Śiva, is enclosed within a peculiarly sacred *linga*, the palladium of the kingdom. In Java, Champa, and Cambodia there was a tradition of a close relationship between Śiva, his *linga*, a leading Brahman, and the reigning dynasty, the power radiating from the special *linga* being in fact the fiery essence of Śiva, the earth god.¹

Owing to inevitable cultural loss (evidenced materially in the frequent replacement of stone by wood) we cannot expect to discover in survivals or resurgences the full character of the Older Megalithic civilization as it may have existed in its more flourishing centres in South-east Asia over 2,000 years ago.² More developed ideas may at that time have been in greater evidence. Stutterheim, as we shall see later, had already by 1926 applied in some detail to Java a recognition of influences of ultimately Babylonian origin, which had previously been vaguely perceived by Elliot Smith. He perhaps stressed the fertility aspect as seen in the Tammuz/Ishtar relation (represented by that of Guru/Śrī in Java and Bali) rather than the probably somewhat later city god cult which seems more in line with some characteristics of the local tutelary deity as stressed by Mus. This is

¹ F. D. K. Bosch, "Het Lingga-Heiligdom van Dinaja," *Tijd.*, vol. lxiv, 1924, pp. 227-286.

² In certain favoured localities, such as Nias, the survivals exhibit not so much cultural loss as specialized development.

also seen by Coomaraswamy¹ to be the basis of Varuna and some other Indian gods of a too settled character to have had an Aryan origin. Stutterheim also recognized the primordial significance of the Garuḍa/Nāga complex which Mus² traces to the pre-planetary cosmology of the Sumerian ziggurat.

In the earlier parts of his great work *Barabudur*³ Mus deals with the elaboration of those basic cults of the Earth God, with which he had concerned himself in his previous study, in the more highly organized ancient societies, and he shows how this affected later Asiatic civilizations. Building on Przyluski's and Heine-Geldern's elucidation of the symbolism of the Indian cosmic mountain or Meru, he shows that the royal microcosm, duplicating the Universe on a small scale, which they had demonstrated to be the dominating idea in Indian and Chinese royal and city architecture, is based on the ancient Babylonian symbolism of the ziggurat and its accompanying royal religion. Possession of the king's palace, that symbolic reduction of the god's palace, from which the royal and divine power radiated to the four quarters, ensured the king's possession of the cosmic axis uniting the realm of the gods with the earth. This maintained that contact with the divine strength needed for the well-being of the people and kingdom. From the median sanctuary on the axis, king or priest as gods incarnate could dispense order to their realm just as did their prototype to the Universe.

In ancient Sumeria the ziggurat was the first attempt to represent the Cosmos symbolically, with only three or five stages corresponding to the more simply conceived divisions of the Universe. It was probably called into existence when the Sumerians left their earlier mountain home to dwell in the Mesopotamian plain, to fulfil

¹ *Yakṣas*, ii, 1931, p. 26 f.

² *BEFEO*, vol. xxxiii, p. 759.

³ *BEFEO*, vol. xxxiii, chapters 7 and 8.

a need for a replica of their sacred mountain.¹ Although later the ziggurat was profoundly modified under the influence of the complex Assyrio-Babylonian cosmology, and in this form influenced the Hindu and other later Asiatic cosmologies and royal architectures, it was necessarily in its simple original form that the ziggurat concept was diffused with the Older Megalithic Culture with which we are here concerned.

The ziggurat was primarily intended as a means of contact with the divine power, the method of contact varying according to period and conditions. In later times we know that the shrine on its summit contained a bed in which the city god of Babylon, Marduk, is supposed to have slept with a woman specially chosen by the priests²; and it was also on such a pyramid that were laid to rest the remains of Cyrus. Now in South-east Asia we find the stepped pyramid marking the graves of ancestral founders among the Angami Nagas, presumably their most valuable links with the Cosmic forces,³ although ideas as to original significance are doubtless vague or lost. And in Java we have noticed mountain terraces with menhirs through which the divine power could be contacted; also an actual pyramid.

In India and Greater India the cosmic symbol or Meru takes various forms, as temple *prāsāda* spire, Buddhist seven- or nine-storied monastery, or terraced *stūpa*, all complicated by the *pradakṣiṇā* garniture resulting from the influence of the later planetary cosmology, in the manner indicated by Mus. But if, in any part of Greater India, we should find an increasing emphasis on pyramidal structures as bearers of the royal *liṅga* or of the royal tomb, over and beyond any such development in India, and provided that we can show

¹ C. L. Woolley, *The Sumerians*, p. 141.

² Herodotus I, 181, 182.

³ Cf. Hocart, *Kingship*, Chap. xiv. Myths and Mounds.

it not to be the result of some foreign loan, we should I think be justified in drawing the inference that the Older Megalithic genius was at work. This would be the more probable as and when a tendency to emphasize the outflow of power to the quarters becomes more pronounced as compared to the circular movement. Only where there is a resurgence of pre-Indian culture, however, can we expect this pyramid development to be accompanied by a complete loss of now meaningless Indian concepts which had their origin in the circular movement resulting from the influence of the Assyrio-Babylonian planetary modification of the older Sumerian cosmology.

(2) POSSIBLE EGYPTIAN INFLUENCES

We may now pause to consider the possibility of Egyptian cultural influences having reached South-east Asia, or more particularly the islands, by the maritime route. This would mean during some part of the period of the Older Megalithic culture which, as we have seen, came overland, down the great river valleys from the north.

We shall find when we consider the cultural evolution of Java that there is evidence that a strongly developed solar cult, associated with a motif resembling the Egyptian Horus emblem, though repressed under Indianization, nevertheless made itself felt through local genius and reappeared in the resurgence of pre-Indian civilization. We shall see the manifold difficulties of explaining this solar cult on any hypothesis other than that of Stutterheim, who believed that Egyptian influences must have been brought to Java by sea, although he no doubt somewhat overestimated the extent of such possible Egyptian influences. As to the nature of these difficulties it will be sufficient for the moment

to remark that this solar cult in Java cannot be paralleled in any other civilization of Greater India, and in Java it gains strength as Indian influences wane.

This island's geographical position, as well as its probable importance in the spice and gold trade, suggest *prima facie* the possibility of its having received influences different from, and in addition to, those which it shared with most other parts of South-east Asia. The questions that we have to deal with immediately are whether there is any contemporary archaeological evidence of such Egyptian influence, and who could have been the introducers.

The speculations of Elliot Smith and Perry, who, though basically right in regard to the importance of diffusion, had insufficient data to enable them to formulate any but the crudest theories, need not delay us. It seems that it was Stutterheim himself who first suggested¹ that the Sabacans, counterparts of the Phœnicians in the East, might have introduced elements of Egyptian culture into Java. In support of this he pointed to a large number of peculiar signs on Barabatur, Sewu, and other temples of Central Java, which he had previously illustrated in *Oudheidkundig Verslag*,² and many of which seem to resemble ancient Sabacan script. If that is indeed their origin it would not of course be an isolated example of items of material culture persisting after Indianization, in this case a code of signs that might have been introduced among Javanese masons of the megalithic age.

More recently Sir Roland Braddell has taken up the question of possible Sabacan contacts with Malaysia. He has brought together the available evidence bearing on the subject, together with a bibliography, to which the reader who wishes to follow up the subject will do

¹ "The Meaning of the Kila-makara Ornament," *I. A. & L.*, vol. iii, 1929, p. 51.

² For 1925, pls. 13 and 14.

well to refer.¹ The object of his study was to try to ascertain who introduced into Malaya several ancient Mediterranean beads, possibly dating from about 700 B.C. supposing that they were actually made as early as that, and that they were carried direct and not by Indians after transshipment in India. And incidentally he mentions some Borneo beads, three of them Romano-Egyptian and one considered by Seligman and Beck² to be of a type found in Egypt and possibly dating from 900-800 B.C. though the type persisted much later, and seems to have been exported to the Far East in some quantity.

So far as I know these are the only objects found in Malaysia of actual Egyptian origin. Heine-Geldern³ leaves it open as to whether such beads of Mediterranean origin were brought by way of Central Asia and China or by overseas route from Arabia or India. If they could have been brought by sea directly or indirectly from Egypt, so obviously could have been cultural elements less fitted to survive to our day than the much-prized Borneo beads.

Braddell quotes from various authorities as to the antiquity of Arabian trade in the Indian Ocean, mentioning that, according to Hitti's *History of the Arabs* (1937 edition), they monopolized the trade of the Indian Ocean during the last millennium and a half before our era—a period more conservatively put at a millennium and a quarter in the 5th (1949) edition of Hitti's work. And Braddell recalls the royal tradition of the Bugis of Celebes which traces descent from Queen Balkhis of Sheba (Saba = the Sabaeen kingdom).

According to Hitti, the Minaean kingdom (ca. 1200 to 650 B.C.) was the first South Arabian kingdom of

¹ "Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya," *JRASMB*, vol. xx, pt. 2, 1947.

² "Far Eastern Glass: Some Western Origins," *Bull. of the Mus. of Far Eastern Antiquities*, Stockholm, 1938, p. 15.

³ loc. cit., p. 146.

which we have some knowledge. This was succeeded by the rise of the Sabaeen kingdom, the Sabaeans being kinsmen of the Minaean Arabs. The first Sabaeen period lasted from 950 to 650 B.C., thus being to some extent contemporaneous with the Minaeans, while the second and more glorious Sabaeen period lasted from 650 to 115 B.C. These South Arabian kingdoms were built up on trade and they did not seek foreign conquest. From their favoured situation in the Yemen they developed not only the sea routes, but also a land route northward along the Red Sea to Syria, since the Red Sea itself was so difficult of navigation by reason of the absence of seasonal trade winds. This "spice road" was the route by which frankincense and spice from Somaliland and the Yemen were brought by caravan to Egypt.

As Sir Roland says, we know from Pliny that there were Arabians on the coast of Malabar and of Ceylon by A.D. 79, and we know that they were in China by the first century of our era. It would not be surprising, therefore, if trading contacts had existed, through the medium of the Sabaeans, between Egypt and Java, a very possible source of the spices so much in demand in Egypt, many centuries before this. And there is the further point brought out by Hitti, though not mentioned by Braddell since it has less bearing on his theme than it has on ours, that while Arabian culture was at bottom indigenous, it could not have escaped Egyptian influence. And he illustrates a South Arabian pictured on an Egyptian relief of 1500 B.C.¹ It would seem, therefore, that if the Sabaeans did reach Java they were equipped to introduce some elements of Egyptian culture. On the other hand, even if it were certain that cultural elements of Egyptian origin besides the beads were brought to Java, in the present state of knowledge we should have to continue to bear in mind, as Braddell does, the possibility that they were relayed thither by early Indian

¹ *op. cit.*, p. 32 f.

voyagers. Unfortunately that is a line of investigation that we are still handicapped in pursuing owing to the backward condition of protohistoric and prehistoric research in South India.

It may legitimately be added that if such a diffusion of Egyptian influences to Java did occur, the characteristics of what appears to have been the introduced material are just such as one might expect to be brought by a third party having only a superficial acquaintance with Egyptian culture: a few well defined and deeply impressive traits, not forming a full and complex pattern as we find in the megalithic, Dong-So'n and Indian civilizations.

(8) THE YOUNGER MEGALITHIC AND DONG-SO'N (BRONZE AGE)

With the Younger Megalithic wave, or more probably series of waves, accompanied by the Dong-So'n Bronze Age culture, we return to relatively solid ground. These civilizations entered South-east Asia about the fourth or third century B.C., according to the date arrived at by B. Karlgren and which has now been provisionally accepted by Heine-Geldern.¹ It is the question of the place of origin of this Bronze Age style that has been a matter of controversy, the Hallstattian-Transsylvanian-Caucasian theory of Heine-Geldern having been vigorously opposed by Karlgren,² who sees the Dong-So'n as closely related to the Huai style of Central China.

It would lead us too far afield to consider here these conflicting views. Whatever its ultimate origin the Dong-So'n culture must have penetrated down the main river valleys of South-east Asia, as well as down the coast of Annam, since characteristic bronze socketed-celts are common in Burma. Also the designs of pottery

¹ "The Drum named Makalamau," *India Antiqua*, p. 173.

² "The Date of the Early Dong-So'n Culture," *Bull. of the Mus. of Far Eastern Antiquities*, Stockholm, No. 14, 1942.

found at the Dongsonian site of Sam-rong-sen in Cambodia and at Luang Prabang in Laos,¹ being similar to those found in Celebes, but different from those found in Annam, point to a route of diffusion down the Mekong. Nevertheless, for the following reasons it cannot be doubted that the main route of diffusion of the Dong-So'n culture was down the Annam coast.

While certain Kuki objects show Dongsonian decoration,² this is most exceptional, since the designs of Nagas and Môn-Khmer tribes along the routes from North-western Indochina are Older Megalithic, wherever ancient designs survive. This would certainly be very surprising if Dongsonian influence had ever been intense in these regions, in view of the preponderance of Dong-So'n designs among the tribes of Tongking, Sumatra, etc., known to have experienced intense Dongsonian influence.

Secondly, there is no doubt that the bronze drums, most characteristic products of the Dong-So'n culture, were developed in South China, thence spreading down the Annam coast to Malaya and the islands, for no drum of the earliest type has ever been found in the area of ancient Fu-nan "and probably none were produced there" whereas in Bali "the art of casting drums had been introduced at an early period".³

Turning now to the types of monuments characteristic of the Younger Megalithic, these may be said to comprise stone cist graves, dolmen-like slab graves, stone sarcophagi and stone vats. At the same time the menhirs and ancestor figures of the older culture often still seem to have continued to be used. One great distinction from the Older Megalithic is the absence of stepped pyramids; indeed it might be said that with the accompanying development of the Bronze Age products there is a

¹ Paul Levy, *Recherches Préhistoriques dans la Région de Mlu Prei*, Hanoi, 1943.

² J. Shakespear, *The Lushai Kuki Clans*, London, 1912, p. 10.

³ Heine-Geldern, loc. cit., p. 176.

tendency to restrict the large scale use of stone, and to concentrate on special types of tomb that are not found in the Older Megalithic.

In South Sumatra, Java, and Bali, graves have been found containing bronze objects, showing them to belong to the Bronze Age, while, on the other hand, the occurrence of iron tools in some of those in Java and the Malay Peninsula indicates that the culture extended into the Iron Age, corresponding to the Han period or later. The stone vats of Central Celebes are similar to those found by Mlle. Colani in Upper Laos, and both probably date from the late Bronze and the Iron Age. Stone sarcophagi resting on stone pillars with primitive human sculptures have been found in central Borneo. Rock cut chamber graves are also known from Java, Borneo, and Sumatra.

The most remarkable series of Younger Megalithic remains has been found in the Pasemah Highlands of South Sumatra and were studied and described by van der Hoop.¹ Apart from the menhirs and primitive squatting figures of the Older Megalithic found with them, the most interesting features are the graves and the series of relief sculptures. "They represent warriors with helmets and daggers, groups of two or three people, men riding on elephants or buffaloes, an elephant with a warrior on each side, both warriors carrying bronze drums on their backs, a man fighting an elephant," etc.² As Heine-Geldern has shown their naturalistic style to be largely due to the influence of Han technique, we shall defer consideration of them until the next section. However it may be said here that in addition to the fragments of bronze found in the graves, these sculptures themselves clearly show their Bronze Age connection. Besides representations of bronze drums of ancient type, there are sculptured swords, daggers, and helmets of the

¹ *op. cit.*

² "Prehistoric . . .," p. 140.

same type as actual bronze weapons dug up in North Annam.

In Jambi, Sumatra, Schnitger found pillar-like stones decorated with what appear to be representations of bronze gongs, as well as typical Dong-So'n designs. Among the Batak and, much mixed with the Older Megalithic, in Nias, the Younger Megalithic is still alive to-day. In Central Borneo an important series of Younger Megalithic remains, together with those of the Older Megalithic, and it would seem partly alive at the present day, has recently been discovered.¹

The Bronze Age objects in the graves of Dong-So'n, North Annam, where the culture was first identified, included bronze axes, daggers, battle axes, and belt-buckles all beautifully decorated; and, above all, drums, which, whether from Indochina or from Indonesia, where they are also found, are by far the most interesting products of the Dong-So'n civilization. "Apart from purely ornamental patterns, some of the drums are adorned with naturalistic or stylized representations of houses, boats, elephants, tigers, deer, horses, peacocks, ducks, and other birds, or with hunting scenes or festivals, groups of men wearing large feather head-dresses, etc."² The ability for naturalistic representation belongs to the early period of the culture only. In the matter of ornamental design the Dong-So'n shows the greatest possible contrast to the Older Megalithic. Instead of symbolic geometrical figures and rosettes, carved animals, etc., we find a beautiful decorative art, delighting in complicated double spirals, meander-like patterns, circles linked by tangents, etc.

Goloubew recognized in 1929 the similarity of the spiral designs on the Dong-So'n drums and other bronzes to those of the living arts of the Bataks and he compared the boats of the dead on the drums to the very similar

¹ T. Harrisson, loc. cit.

² Heine-Geldern, loc. cit., p. 145.

boats depicted on Dayak paintings, and which are also preserved on Sumatran cloth designs.¹ As it survives to-day this Dong-So'n art style is still "mainly ornamental and delights in beautiful curvilinear designs, double spirals, etc. Moreover it produced and still produces paintings representing mythological scenes or scenes from daily life. The close similarity of its ornaments and paintings to the ornaments and scenes on the ancient bronze drums, as well as to the ornaments on other bronze objects of the Dong-So'n culture, leave no doubts as to the origin of this style. . . . This ornamental style of Bronze Age origin is found in a particularly vigorous and highly developed form in the arts of the Batak and Minangkabauans of Sumatra, the Sa'dan Toradja of Celebes, and the natives of Alor and the Tanimbar Islands, but there is hardly a region in Indonesia where its influence is not recognizable. This influence extends along the north coast of New Guinea as far as the Trobriand Islands and has even penetrated into the Solomon Islands."² In Batak silver and gold work double spirals and plaited bands, of Dong-So'n origin, are the most frequent motifs. And it may be added that the saddle roof with projecting roof ridge and gable of the Toba Batak and Toradja house is somewhat similar to those represented on Tongking drums.³

Heine-Geldern may well be right in supposing that the Dong-So'n civilization was introduced to Indonesia by small groups of merchants and colonists of the Yue people, ancestors of the present-day Annamites, who were absorbed into the local population.⁴ We shall now look in somewhat more detail at the Dong-So'n remains in those countries of the eastern zone in whose subsequent cultural evolution we are particularly interested, bearing

¹ A. Steinmann, "Les tissus a jonques du sud de Sumatra," *R.A.A.*, vol. xi, No. 3.

² Heine-Geldern, loc. cit., p. 152.

³ Heine-Geldern in Loeb's *Sumatra*, p. 319.

⁴ Heine-Geldern, "Prehistorie . . .," p. 147.

in mind that in Indonesia not one single Bronze Age site has yet been excavated, although chance finds indicate that many comparable to those of North Annam probably exist.

Java and Bali.—Among many finds may be mentioned halberd-like weapons from Java, human and animal figures from Java, and a bell from Bali, while bronze drums of a variety of types have been found in these as well as most of the other chief islands of Indonesia. Especially interesting is the find of a stone mould for making drums in Bali, showing that some of the drums were certainly made in the islands.

Champa.—O. Janse points out¹ that Dong-So'n objects have actually been found in Cham territory, notably finds of shoe-shaped celts and basket pottery at Tra-ki'eu in Quan'g-nam, while "split, disc-shaped jade rings and beads similar to those found at Dong-So'n have been discovered at Sa-hùynh in Qu'ăng-ngai." Systematic excavations may eventually show that the Chams underwent extreme Dong-So'n acculturation prior to Indianization. We are already led to this supposition by reason of the proximity of the Cham country to the Dongsonian sites of North Annam, by the probability that the Upper Laos megalithic culture investigated by Mlle. Colani represents an extension of this culture, and by reason of the survival of Dong-So'n designs among modern Tongking hill tribes and other neighbouring hill peoples. A slab-grave was excavated some years ago at Xuân-Lộc, 80 km. from Saigon,² but there were no finds enabling one to decide as to whether it dates from the Bronze or from the Iron Age. In 1909 at Sa-Hùynh (Qu'ăng-ngai), Annam, and subsequently, large depots of funerary urns were found, as well as a stone chamber, built of large slabs. Mlle. Colani³ believed these had

¹ *Archaeological Research in Indochina*, 1947, p. xxiii.

² *JGIS*, vol. iv, 1937, pp. 26-35.

³ *Mégalithes du Haut Laos*, vol. ii, p. 260.

similarities to the jars of Upper Laos and the Malayan slab graves.

Cambodia.—The spread of Dongsonian culture down the Mekong is evidenced by the data already referred to, but no less clearly is the limited intensity of the diffusion by this route shown by the absence of early drums in the Fu-nan area and the virtual absence of Dong-So'n design among the neighbouring hill tribes. This relative weakness of Dongsonian cultural impact on the Khmers, as compared to their basic Older Megalithic culture, is a factor of immense importance, as we shall see, for their subsequent cultural history. It enables us to infer that any Dong-So'n element in Khmer local genius would have been unlikely to have remained constant; and it is only the constant features in local genius that can give direction to subsequent evolution.

We must now give some attention to the character of the religious practices associated with the Younger Megalithic and Dong-So'n culture. So far as can be ascertained these practices differed very little from those of the Older Megalithic and it has been mentioned that in Nias, and elsewhere where the Younger Megalithic is alive to-day, menhirs and primitive ancestor figures are still in use. Furthermore, in those living cultures where Dong-So'n motifs are in vogue for purely decorative purposes, "it is significant that motifs relating to ancestor cult, sacrificial feasts, head-hunting, or the magic propagation of fertility and wealth are in many cases derived from the older, monumental style."¹

The processions of persons wearing feathered head-dresses on the Dong-So'n drums, as well as the spirit boats there delineated, have usually been taken as evidence for a Dong-So'n "cult of the dead". This is borne out by certain ritual still carried out by the

¹ Heine-Geldern, *Introduction to Catalogue of Indonesian Art Exhibition*, New York, 1948.

Mu'o'ng of Tongking, and the Dayak feast of the dead, as noticed by Goloubew. Similarly Schnitger states that the Toba Bataks often bury their dead in a boat with a hornbill prow comparable to the boats of the dead on the Dong-So'n drums, while "Hoda-hoda are men disguised as hornbills, who dance at the burial of a raja. They represent the bird which brings the soul of the deceased to the hereafter. Sometimes they are ritually killed by a buffoon and afterwards raised to life again as a symbol of resurrection and eternal life."¹

It is rather surprising, therefore, to find that the late Mlle. Colani thought that she had found in the Dong-So'n drum designs, and in a number of ornamental motifs still in use among the Meo people of Upper Laos and the Mu'o'ng of Tongking, survivals of a sun cult that had spread to this region via Central Asia.² The worship of the sun no doubt formed an aspect of many ancient religions, including the Babylonian. The mistake of many of the earlier anthropologists was to over-emphasize this aspect, until every ancient religion became a replica of the ancient Egyptian. And in their anxiety to bolster this viewpoint they even pressed into service sky origin stories which in fact have all the appearance of explanatory myths. Consequently we may do well to remind ourselves of the sage remark once made by Sir James Frazer to Prof. Hutton that he found "nothing of any value to connect the monuments of the Pacific with sun worship, but a good deal to connect them with the worship of the dead."³

To move to the opposite extreme from such writers as Perry might be equally erroneous. But I should wish to

¹ F. M. Schnitger, *Forgotten Kingdoms in Sumatra*, Leiden, 1930, p. 144 and pl. xxi.

² "Survivance d'un Culte Solaire," in *Proc. Third Congress of Pre-historians of the Far East*, Singapore, 1938.

³ "The Use of Stone . . .", p. 82; and confirmed by Miss R. Moss, *The Life after Death in Oceania*, Oxford, 1925, pp. 87, 160, 171. See also A. Reisenfeld, *The Megalithic Culture of Melanesia*, 1950, Chap. III.

see considerably stronger evidence than that which appears to have satisfied Mlle. Colani. In particular I should want to have evidence of actual sun worship, as seems to have existed in Java, rather than merely motifs which may once have been connected therewith.

In his interesting studies of the migrations of decorative motifs, A. Leroi-Gourhan has shown how widely from their sources such motifs may travel. In regard to the birds and tree motif, one of those Mlle. Colani reproduces¹ from a Mu'o'ng embroidery, though she mistakes the tree for "a sort of altar, perhaps solar", Leroi-Gourhan says that "except in cases where it is explicitly linked to the rising of the sun it seems to have lost, in Europe at least, all proper meaning . . . it is without doubt the most popular of all the themes."² It need not even have ever had a solar rather than a cosmic significance for the World Tree was an alternative to the World Mountain as a symbol of the cosmic axis. And the wide diffusion of such symbols as mere decorative motifs is an example of the generally recognized phenomenon, mentioned in the Introduction, of symbols travelling faster than their interpretation. Moreover, for Mlle. Colani to look for support for her thesis to Elliot Smith's unfounded assertion that megaliths were connected with sun-worship (she is thinking of the proximity of the Meo habit to the megalithic sites she investigated) is valueless.

Coming then to the Dong-So'n drums, Mlle. Colani supposes that the central star represents the sun, around which circulate the deer, birds, etc., which for her are solar symbols, while the boats are solar boats, although boats of the dead are not usually, as in Egypt, solar. And in comparing³ this supposed circulation around the "sun" on the bronze drums with the ecliptic, the

¹ loc. cit., fig. 3.

² *RAA*, vol. xii, p. 163.

³ Colani, loc. cit., pl. lxvi.

Earth's passage around the sun, Mlle. Colani credits the Dongsonianians with too advanced knowledge.¹

I believe that we may find a more satisfactory clue to the understanding of the symbolism of these Dong-So'n drums in the influence of the Assyrio-Babylonian planetary cosmology, which as Mus has shown had a widespread effect on the older religious ideas. The Babylonians, through their observations of the stars, came to realize that the movements of the planets took place around the North Pole, and that the cosmic axis running through the old Sumerian ziggurat and presumed to connect earth with sky did not in fact coincide with what they now observed must be the true scheme of things. In their improved planetary ziggurat they endeavoured, by a species of mystic relativity, to reconcile the axis of the ziggurat or palace with the south-north axis of the universe. The regular course of the stars around this axis became the model on which to regulate the affairs of the world below.

Circular processions in ritual, with similar modifications in architecture, resulted from the newer cosmology. It brought to India in the time of Aśoka, via Persia, the ritual of the Chakravartin and the *pradakṣiṇā* circumambulation. It reached China and may well have modified the ritual of the megalithic cult of the dead, so that on the Dong-So'n drums we find the celestial movement of the plane of the dead, as of other divisions of the Universe, around the Pole Star. But at the same time the older idea of divine power being radiated to the quarters persisted.

(4) HAN CHINESE

Han period Chinese bronzes were found accompanying the later Dong-So'n remains in North Annam.

¹ Although heliocentricism was first proposed (c. 280-264 B.C.) by Aristarchus, his views were at once rejected, and in any case seem too late to have influenced the early Dong-So'n drums.

I came to the conclusion that the early stamped pottery found in the Malay state of Johore, though it may have actually been made by Malayo-Polynesians, owes its designs, like the *later* Bronze Age drums, to Chinese influence of the Han period.¹ A considerable number of Chinese sepulchral vessels of Han period have actually been found in Borneo, Java, and Sumatra, one from the last named island being inscribed as of 45 B.C. A bronze bowl from Sumatra has engraved designs of persons and horses in Han style. Bronze axes of typical Chinese form have been found in Sumatra, whence comes also a Chinese bronze dagger-axe. A similar one was found in Java.

The sepulchral pottery has been held to indicate that Chinese merchants or colonists lived in Sumatra as early as Han times. And Heine-Geldern believes that some of the megalithic chamber graves of Sumatra and East Java may be Chinese, and of the Han period. Fuller knowledge of this until recently unsuspected Han expansion may call for a revision of hitherto accepted views on Chinese overseas influence, as for example summarized by Cœdès.²

The early Chinese appear to have followed what we have seen was the main route of Dong-So'n expansion, spreading down the coasts of Annam, the Malay Peninsula and through the islands. This expansion must have indeed begun quite by the third century B.C., at least reaching Borneo and Flores by that time. Heine-Geldern considers that most of the modern art styles of the Dayaks of Borneo and the Ngada of Flores are mainly derived from the late Chou of China, the Dong-So'n being submerged thereby in these two islands. We may thus be brought to recognize that Chinese culture bearers, long before their deeds were placed on record in dynastic histories, were actively if unconsciously

¹ *JRAS*, 1948, p. 16.

² *Les États . . .*, p. 64 f.

laying the foundations of a "Greater China" in South-east Asia, until superseded by the more attractive pattern introduced by the Indians.

Even while recognizing this in my preliminary article on the subject, I underestimated the importance of the Han influence on the culture of the regions to which it spread. Heine-Geldern had previously concluded that there was Chinese influence of Han period in the Pasemah sculptures of Sumatra, to which I have already briefly alluded. He pointed out similarities between some of them and the sculptures standing at the tomb of the Chinese general Huo K'iu-ping in Shensi, dated 117 B.C.

"In Pasemah, as in Nias, we have to deal with a developed megalithic culture; but here the results have been of quite different nature. Instead of a static art, as in Nias, we are confronted with a thoroughly dynamic conception and rendering of the physical world. Everything is full of movement, power, and passion. The faces and all their features are conceived as powerful animated masses. The protruding eyebrows, the round eyes, the large cheekbones and padded lips, the prognathism, and above all the huge lower jaws, give to most of these faces an expression of uncanny brutality. Clearly, in Pasemah, the sculptors have intended to bring forth a naturalistic rendering of native types. . . . Bodies are twisted; heads turned sideways, thrust forward, or thrown back; the grip of mighty arms fights or masters some animal; bodies clutch convulsively at each other. . . ." ¹ At the same time it should be noted that van der Hoop ² remarks on the fineness of the detailed work and the skill of the chiselling, where these qualities have not been obscured by damage or exposure.

Paintings in the Pasemah cist graves "show the same violent movements, the grotesque, almost caricatured

¹ Heine-Geldern in Loeb's *Sumatra*, p. 313 f.

² *op. cit.*, p. 67.

faces, thus proving with absolute certainty, that the sculptures and the stone cists originated at the same period . . . the paintings on the inner walls in Pasemah remind us, in spite of all stylistic difference, of the decorations of Chinese tombs of the same period."¹ A relief of a bird near the entrance to a rock cut chamber grave in the Batak country of Sumatra is stylistically similar to a frequent motif on Dong-So'n drums and on Han tiles.²

While the earlier Bronze Age drums (fourth to third century B.C.) show relatively naturalistic representations of men, boats, animals, and houses, these degenerate in the later drums into stylized and unrecognizable ornamentation. It is the Dong-So'n ornament and complicated designs that have so affected the arts of succeeding civilizations of South-east Asia and this comprises the Dong-So'n element in local genius. But the naturalistic figures of the later second to third century A.D. drums (such as those of Salajar and Sangeang in the Archipelago), which are depicted side by side with stylized representations, must be due to some other influence. Heine-Geldern discusses and gives the clue to the problem in the following passage :

"Ever since the beginning of our era the coastal regions and plains of Eastern Indo-China had come under the influence of higher civilizations. . . . This must have wrought deep changes in the cultures and religions of the native peoples. In the case of Tongking, we learn from Chinese sources that native customs were discouraged and Chinese ways forcefully introduced, first by Governor Si Kuang, between A.D. 1 and 25 and later, after the suppression of the great rebellion, by Ma Yüan. . . . The feast of the dead must have been discontinued or at least have taken on new forms. The ceremonial feather head-dresses went out of fashion, if for no other

¹ Heine-Geldern, *loc. cit.*, p. 314 f.

² Heine-Geldern, "Prehistoric . . .," p. 152.

reason because head-hunting was no doubt suppressed, the right to wear such ornaments usually being the prerogative of successful head-hunters among the tribes of South-east Asia. Thus the figures of feather adorned warriors and dancers, who had disappeared from real life, were no longer understood and soon degenerated into mere ornamental patterns, while familiar subjects found on the ancient drums, such as houses, boats, people pounding rice, domestic animals and birds, were still traditionally reproduced for some time. On the other hand new naturalistic motifs were now added. This explains the curious juxtaposition of naturalistic figures with others which had become completely unrecognizable as a result of stylization and ornamental disintegration as is the case not only on the drum from Sangeang, but also on the one from the island of Salajar, with its feathery designs derived from what once had been feather-wearing men, and its naturalistic elephants and birds. Were these naturalistic additions made merely for decorative purposes? Or is it not more likely that they were connected with some new significance given to the drums after their old meaning had largely been forgotten?"¹

However this may be I no longer doubt that, powerful though the continuing effect of the Dong-So'n element can be shown to have been in the realm of design, the naturalism inculcated into the Younger Megalithic by Han influence was a factor of importance in preparing the Malayo-Polynesians of the islands to assimilate the technique of Indian sculpture and bas-relief.

In matters of religion I have already quoted Heine-Geldern as suggesting that Chinese influence probably brought changes in the cult of the dead, though to what extent and in what manner is uncertain. Perhaps the tendency might have been towards representation of the Earth Deity in feminine form, since in China

¹ "The Drum named Makalamau," *India Antiqua*, p. 175.

there was age old reverence for the Earth Mother. And the material medium might tend to be reduced from larger sacred stones to the more convenient ancestral tablet.

THE WORKING HYPOTHESIS

I now propose the following working hypothesis :— Indian (and secondary) influences moulded by a local genius in which the constant features are Older Megalithic, Egyptian (?), Younger Megalithic/Dongsonian, and Han, produce the *Indo-Javanese* cultural evolution. Indian (and secondary) influences moulded by a local genius in which the constant features are Younger Megalithic/Dongsonian and Han, produce the *Cham* cultural evolution. Indian (and secondary) influences moulded by a local genius in which the constant feature is Older Megalithic, produce the *Khmer* cultural evolution.

While I retain the accepted phrase "Indian influence" to denominate the main stimulus I do not wish to give it the dynamic sense usually associated with the expression; in so far as cultural change is concerned it is the response that produces dynamic effect. Where we are so fortunate as to be confronted with a resurgence of pre-Indian culture in the later phases of an evolution, albeit in considerably modified form, this will provide an added presumption that the genius of such pre-Indian civilizations has been responsible for moulding the Indianized civilization that they ultimately replaced. But the test of the validity of the hypothesis must in each case be our ability to demonstrate the part played by local genius in actually guiding the evolution of the Indianized civilization itself.

CHAPTER IV

THREE MARGINAL CULTURES

(SUNDA, WEST BORNEO, PRE-MAJAPAHIT BALI)

Before embarking on our main task of investigating the Indo-Javanese, Cham, and Khmer evolutions, I propose to consider three marginal cultures of the eastern zone, in each of which the Indian stimulus was too weak to produce a notable response and was soon overwhelmed by a resurgence of pre-Indian cultures. Though thus, as original evolutions virtually stultified, each has a contribution to make to our understanding of the processes involved in the fuller evolutions to which we shall then proceed.

(1) SUNDA (WEST JAVA)

West Java had been the seat of a tentative Indian colony (Tārumā) in the fifth century,¹ with its capital probably situated near Buitenzorg. An Old Malay inscription of A.D. 942 suggests that at this time Sunda was feudatory to Śrīvijaya.² Then comes an eleventh century inscription by a certainly independent Sundanese ruler, written in Old Javanese. Finally there are inscriptions of the fourteenth century kingdom of Pajajaran which show an increasingly Sundanese character.³

The absence of all other remains prior to the fourteenth century, coupled with the poor nature of the country

¹ Coedès, *Les États . . .*, p. 93 f.

² F. D. K. Bosch, "Een Maleische Inscriptie in het Buitenzorgsche," *Bijdragen*, vol. c, 1941, pp. 49-53.

³ For these inscriptions see Krom, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 211, 261, 405-407.

with its lack of fertile river valleys, make it seem probable that Indian and Śrīvijayan influence in West Java was abortive.

The sculptures found at Pajajaran seem often to have been associated with megalithic style terraces.¹ And Heine-Geldern has shown² a gradation in which the primitive statue-menhir can be seen to develop under the impact of Indo-Javanese influence. First a menhir is inscribed as though it were a *linga*, or, while still retaining the megalithic technique, a figure adopts a Gaṇeśa trunk.³ Then a monumental looking statue-menhir flings off its primitive fetters, loses its fixed frontality, adopts an asymmetrical arm pose and generally shows a strongly dynamic spirit in the forceful emphasis of the body and bold turn of the head.⁴ A further advance is to be seen in a number of so-called ascetics from Gunong Cibodas near Buitenzorg.⁵

While Krom thought⁶ that it was by Central Javanese art that these primarily megalithic sculptures had been influenced, Heine-Geldern thinks that the influence is East Javanese. However, in the case of the pleasing "lotus-bearing ascetic"⁷ Heine-Geldern admits that Central Javanese influence is involved. The Sundanese, in this case at least, have been influenced by images already five hundred years old. But the figure, as Heine-Geldern points out, despite its externally quiet appearance, shows an inner strain and reserved strength very different from the eternal peace and loosening of all earthly ties so evident in the serene sculptures of the Barabudur.

¹ Krom, *Inleiding*, ii, p. 392 f; Schnitger, "Les Terrasses Mégalithiques de Java," *RAA*, vol. xiii, pp. 101-103, fig. A, and pl. xxv, 6; B. van Tricht, "Levende Antiquiteiten in West Java," *Djawa*, vol. ix, 1929.

² *Vorgeschichtliche . . .*, pp. 24-7.

³ Krom, *op. cit.*, pl. 100.

⁴ Heine-Geldern, *loc. cit.*, fig. 18.

⁵ Heine-Geldern, *loc. cit.*, figs. 12, 15, 16; Krom, *op. cit.*, pl. 101.

⁶ *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 396.

⁷ Heine-Geldern, *loc. cit.*, fig. 16; Krom, *op. cit.*, pl. 101.

This series of Sundanese sculptures is instructive as affording an idea as to how the early stages of the acculturation process in Central Java and elsewhere under the impact of Indian influence were achieved. The Hindu statue replaces the menhir, and allows room only for local genius to survive, the force which would in time gather strength and mould the imported influence.

(2) WEST BORNEO

Early Indian influence in West Borneo is attested by the rock inscriptions of Batu Pahat, near the Sungai Tekarek.¹ As these are Buddhist and date from about the sixth century A.D. the presence of two standing Buddhas of Gupta style in the hoard of objects found at Sambas, West Borneo,² gives no cause for surprise. The retarded condition of exploration in Borneo makes it impossible to speak at present with any certainty on the historical archæology of that great island. But, until the contrary is proved by impressive discoveries, it seems reasonable to assume that the mountainous and densely forested terrain proved too great an obstacle to any sufficient Indian influence being implanted to evoke the scale of response that could lead to the development of a flourishing Indianized civilization. Consequently we must at present regard West Borneo as the seat of a marginal culture only.

The fact is that at present our discussion must be founded on a single object from the Sambas hoard, the justly famous incense burner,³ for it alone can give us some idea of what may have been the style of the early Indo-Bornean architecture. Perhaps one is first struck by its general resemblance to those South Indian caskets, having the shape of a sanctuary tower, that are

¹ Chhabra, loc. cit., pp. 41-4.

² *JRASMB*, vol. xxii, pt. 4, 1949, pls. 1-6.

³ *JRASMB*, loc. cit., pl. 6.

preserved in the Madras Museum,¹ and of which I obtained the roof of a considerably earlier example in Kedah.² It is known that these Indian caskets were used in ritual and once contained small figures of the deities worshipped, with the vehicle of the deity, e.g. Śiva's bull Nandi, seated at the four corners of the roof, just as on the roof of actual Śiva temples. The cross-legged ascetic, at each corner of the Kedah miniature, can also be paralleled on some South Indian temple roofs.

Very remarkable, however, are the cocks which, whether at the roof corners or in place of dormer windows, are such prominent features of the Sambas incense-burner and do much to modify our first impression of the generally Indian character of the object. For the cock is not known to have had any ritual significance in India. Nevertheless the fighting cock is depicted on the banner of the Hindu god of war Subrahmanya (Kārttikeya) and Dr. Sri A. Aiyappan, of the Madras Museum, to whom I am indebted for information on the Madras caskets, offers the plausible suggestion that the incense-burner may have been connected with the worship of that god.

The vehicle of Subrahmanya is the peacock, and in India figures of this bird stand at the four corners of Subrahmanya temples.³ In the fauna of Borneo and Sumatra the peacock is entirely lacking, a surprising fact of geographical distribution since a species of peacock occurs in Java. In the Javanese images of Subrahmanya the god rides upon a peacock and it appears that it is actually the Java peacock that is represented on the Barabudur reliefs.⁴ Although, as we

¹ loc. cit., pl. 7.

² *JRASMB*, vol. xviii, pt. 1, pl. 18.

³ e.g. at Tanjore, Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1876, fig. 192.

⁴ A. S. de Prez, "Faune et Flore dans les Bas-reliefs Javanais," *RAA*, vol. ix, No. 2, p. 62.

also know from the Barabudur,¹ not to mention other Greater Indian arts, unfamiliarity does not prevent the introduction of Indian or mythical animals mentioned in the sacred texts, a closely cognate form deep rooted in pre-existing local culture might be substituted in Borneo for the unfamiliar Indian bird. Such a change might the more easily pass unreprimanded by the Indian gurus in view of the orthodox presence of the fighting cock on Subrahmanya's banner.

But, as Sir Richard Winstedt remarked to me, might not the substitution of cocks for the Garuḍas of Viṣṇu afford a simpler explanation? The turtle feet of the object certainly would favour a Vaiṣṇavite interpretation, since the tortoise was one of the *avatars* of Viṣṇu. Moreover the cock, like Garuḍa in India, is represented on Han Chinese bronzes as an enemy of snakes.² The only difficulty is as to whether such an overt substitution would have been countenanced. The general rule seems to be, as we have seen, that a people (who had not undergone extreme acculturation) tended to select and stress those *Indian* traits that were in some way reminiscent of their former culture. It was in this way that local genius began to guide the course of an evolution, not by the substitution of local forms. What therefore we may have here is a "hybridization" regarded as a step towards the more profound Indianization that we find is generally reached elsewhere in Greater India.

Whatever the exact nature of the change there is a possibility that it was actuated by the ritual significance of the cock in the pre-Indian culture of Borneo. This was Dong-So'n, and more especially late Chou, influenced, as we know from the designs in modern Dayak art. On some of the early Tongking bronze drums, cocks, sometimes associated with what appear

¹ *ibid.*, p. 58.

² A. Leroi-Gourhan, "L'art Animalier dans les bronzes chinois," *RAA*, vol. ix, pt. 4, p. 189, fig. 12 (73 and 74).

to be peacocks, are depicted on house tops.¹ However they may only have a decorative value, as appears to have been the case with birds on Chinese roofs of Han period.

The decoration of the incense-burner seems to be quite Indian. In some details it closely resembles that of the Kedah roof. The motif of the *chaitya* arches on pilasters is Indian, but the arches lack the usual points or crests. However something of the sort does sometimes occur in India,² and so I hesitate to suggest local modification here. Indo-Javanese influence is absent. The wagon-roof and the free-standing pillars supporting it are architectural features never found in Java. There also the *chaitya* arch on pilasters motif does not occur and even the *kūḍu* niche is rare. Lack of the *kāla-makara* motif has a possible bearing on the make-up of local genius here, in view of its significance in this respect in Indo-Javanese art.

It would seem that the local genius responsible for the distinctive character of this incense-burner, which may date from the seventh or early eighth century A.D., is in some degree Dongsonian but probably more Chinese. Apart from the evidence of the substitution of the cocks, their standing on "flower pots" at the corners gives a strong accentuation of the angles that is characteristic of that somewhat similarly guided art, the Cham. One is reminded of the attitude of the bulls of the Cham temple of Po Klaung Garai, which are not couchant as on Indian Śiva temples, but start upwards and outwards from the roof angles.³

The incense-burner, unique though it is, seems to provide almost certain evidence that there existed at least the beginnings of a distinctive Indo-Bornean

¹ BEFEO, vol. xl, pt. 2, 1941, p. 399, figs. 6 and 7.

² e.g. a Nālandā architectural fragment illustrated in Bhattacharya's *Buddhist Iconography*, pl. VI d.

³ H. Parmentier, *Inventaire descriptif des Monuments Cams de l'Annam*, vol. ii, fig. 21.

architecture which showed signs of developing parallel to other eastern zone architectures. But what of such further development, if any? There is reason to believe that there was no rich state in Borneo comparable to the famous neighbouring kingdoms that made a much greater mark in history. Chau Ju-hua, referring to conditions in the twelfth to thirteenth century state of Po-ni, the name by which the kingdom in North-west Borneo was known to the Sung period Chinese, gives no impression of great wealth or prosperity. And he says, "Their god (lit. Buddha) has no image in human shape; his dwelling consists of a reed-covered building of several storeys, shaped like a pagoda; below there is a small shrine protecting two pearls; this is called the 'Sacred Buddha'." ¹

It is possible that after the seventh century the early West Bornean state (its identity has been discussed by Sir Roland Braddell) became a mere province of the Śrīvijayan empire, though there is no definite proof of this. Perhaps not very long after recovering its independence, with the name of Po-ni, it was reduced once more to subservience, this time to the Majapahit empire, some signs of the influence of which have been found in Sarawak. At the same time there would appear to have occurred some local resurgence of pre-Indian culture.

(3) PRE-MAJAPAHIT BALI

Archæological evidence of any Indian influence in Bali prior to the eighth century is entirely lacking. For the eighth to ninth centuries there are a few sculptures which can be classed only as belonging to Indo-Malaysian art, and some small votive *stūpas* inscribed with Tantric Buddhist *mantras*. With no architectural evidence it is difficult to say if the influence was in fact direct Indian or whether it was Indo-Javanese, nor, for the same reason,

¹ Trans. of Hirth and Rockhill, 1911, p. 157.

can we make any study of local genius at this period. The foreign influence must have quickly waned, for by the latter part of the tenth century it is clear that a strong resurgence of pre-Indian culture had set in. Indeed I use the term resurgence in only a relative sense here, since it is uncertain that Bali had ever been at all deeply Indianized. Incidentally, we know that Bali was definitely ruled by a Balinese dynasty since A.D. 915.¹

This pre-Indian resurgence is most strikingly and distinctively shown in the style of the Balinese royal burial places, the earliest of which are known not from Bali but from East Java. These were consequent upon the Balinese king Udayana's visit to Java, where he married a Javanese princess, and the resultant accession of their son Airlangga to the throne of the East Javanese kingdom. The earlier of the two sites, both situated on Mount Penanggungan, is the tomb bathing tank of Jalatunda,² which is inscribed with a date equivalent to A.D. 977 and the name Udayana. From this Krom drew the conclusion that it was built at that time as a final resting place for the ashes of King Udayana.

The Jalatunda tank measures about 55 feet by 44 feet, and was surrounded by walls, the back one formed by the side of the mountain, the side walls, ornamented with small turrets, following the mountain slope in terraced stages. The walls were decorated with reliefs in a distinctly *wayang* style which would have hardly been imaginable at this early date had they been the work of Indo-Javanese artists. The water fell into the tank through three spouts in the form of figures in niches, the right a Garuḍa head, the left a Nāga head. Near the tank was found one of the nine-compartmented caskets used to contain the ashes in royal burials.

The back of the bathing tank, that is to say, the face of the mountain, shows traces of having been carved

¹ Cœdès, *Les États* . . . , p. 219.

² Krom, *Inleiding*, vol. ii, pp. 35-9, pl. 46.

with the semblance of a Hindu temple façade, here used purely as a device to sharpen the local conception of Mt. Penanggungan as representing the home of the gods and ancestors. We shall see that in the *chandi* the Javanese were later to carry this idea much further.

Moreover, in a very interesting study of this site,¹ Stutterheim showed the probability that the builders had utilized a still more definite borrowing from the Indian Meru to emphasize the nature of the place. He showed that a carved stone, representing the top of Mount Meru, and found some distance away at Trawas, seems to have originally come from Jalatunda. There, set on the terrace before the mountain face, it formed the crown of a spring which welled up through it and then flowed into the tank through appropriately cut channels.

In seeking to understand what had been the significance of the structure in the eyes of the people, Stutterheim rightly rejected the interpretation that would at once spring to the mind of the Indianist, namely that it represented the birth of the Ganges from Śiva's locks. He points to the absence of any sign of Śiva's crown on the Meru top, and also remarks that the story was probably unknown or meaningless to the local people since there are no representations of it on reliefs or elsewhere in the islands. This affords a useful warning that we must bear in mind: Once a pre-Indian cultural resurgence has set in we must expect to find only limited borrowings from Indian sources, boldly adapted to local requirements. The Indian pattern as a whole is no longer accepted.

Quoting from the old Javanese Tantric treatise *Tantu Panggelaran*,² Stutterheim seeks a more likely explanation in the passage which tells of the bringing of the upper

¹ "Het zinrijke waterwerk van Djalatoenda", *Tijd.*, vol. lxxvii 1937, pt. 2, pp. 214-250, illus.

² For full text and translation see T. Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggelaran*

part of Mount Meru by the gods to Java, in order to give that island more stability. Certain features of the story recall the Indian myth of the churning of the ocean of milk, in which the mountain was the churning stick, but there is little resemblance in points of detail. Thus the objects brought to light in the churning are not mentioned, and in fact there is no churning at all. The Indian churning story, of which the origin is the rotation of the stars, is a version of the Assyrio-Babylonian cosmology that could have little appeal in Java and Bali once the resurgence of Older Megalithic culture had set in. In the *Tantu* story some Indian ideas only are being borrowed to enhance what Stutterheim believed was essentially the primordial cosmological conception.

The mountain in East Java which, according to the *Tantu*, was formed from the top of Meru was called Pawitra; and Stutterheim shows good reason for identifying it with Penanggungan. He mentions that stone pieces, very similar to the one under consideration, are known, which were set in ornamental basins (world sea) in a king's palace in Java or Bali to signify that that palace was, like the Indian palace, the centre of the world. What more appropriate than that a stone Meru piece of this sort should be set up over the burial place of a king whose soul had gone to the ancestor abode Mt. Penanggungan was considered to be.

Stutterheim made several interesting suggestions as to the way in which the structure could have functioned to express pre-Indian ideas. As a replica or symbol of the mountain of the gods set up over the king's ashes it would serve to secure magical contact with the supreme ancestor, so that his beneficence might be exercised for the good of the realm below, much as was the case with the ziggurat. As a symbol of this beneficent influence the sacred water gushed from the mountain, ultimately spreading to fertilize the ricefields below, a symbolic marriage for the good of the realm between the Ancestor

Local God (Indianized as Mahādeva) with the bountiful Earth Mother. She approximated to the Babylonian Ishtar but was here superficially Indianized as Śrī, not however the wife of Viṣṇu but the same as the Bengal rice spirit Dewi or Gauri, perhaps her original role. And this possibility is strengthened by the fact that the Balinese still regard Śrī as the wife of Śiva.

Stutterheim also shows that not only have the deities concerned adopted Indian names, but in the *Tantu* story the life-giving water has been identified with *amṛita*. Only, since there was no churning of the ocean, the origin of the *amṛita* has to be accounted for differently. The gods were thirsty as a result of their efforts in dragging the upper part of Meru to Java, and drinking from a poisoned spring they all died. Seeing this, Mahādeva himself drank the poison which turned his throat blue. But since in the *Tantu* story there was no churning of the ocean, the *amṛita* could not be produced thereby. So Mahādeva turned the poison into *amṛita* and, sprinkling the gods with it, restored them to life. In the local version the origin of the *amṛita* is put down as a result of the chance drinking of poison, and Mahādeva, on account of his more exalted local status than in the Mahābhārata, is regarded as the producer of the *amṛita*.

Incidentally I think it is important to note that the local people are detected here, not merely in elaborating their more primitive cosmology from Indian sources, but in the act of providing an explanatory myth to account for the forgotten origin of their ancient concepts. In this case it would seem that Stutterheim successfully probed beneath, but we must beware in old Javanese literature of the ever present danger of being misled by the explanatory myth.

At the same time Stutterheim recognizes that the *liṅga*-like summit of this Jalatunda Meru piece could not have been without significance, but this would not be

in connection with the phallic aspect, often so important in India, but rather as an improved form of the ancient menhir, through which the king's soul could be conveniently contacted.

The Nāga and Garuḍa form of the water spouts (though possibly having a pre-Indian cosmic significance here) suggests that the king buried at Jalatunda was identified with Viṣṇu. The fact that most of the other indications at the site are Śaivite in Indian prototype need cause no surprise, for the identification of Balinese and East Javanese kings with more than one deity was the rule.

Not far away, at Belahan¹ on the slopes of the same mountain, is the very similar tomb-bathing enclosure of King Airlangga himself who died in A.D. 1049. Thanks to its isolated position it has fortunately remained in excellent preservation. In this case the slope of the mountain forming the back of the tank has been faced by a brick wall very clearly built to resemble a temple façade, behind which the royal ash casket was buried. There was no separate stone Meru but instead the brick façade has three niches, of a style subsequently met with in Balinese royal tombs, each containing a stone figure. The central one apparently represents Viṣṇu mounted on Garuḍa, the hands held before the middle in a *mudrā* special to portrait statues of the dead. Consequently it is believed to be a portrait statue of Airlangga himself. This central figure is flanked at a lower level by female figures in the other niches which may have been intended to represent Airlangga's queens (as Śrī and Lakṣmī).²

The clearer definition of the temple façade, replacing the stone Meru piece, while the portrait sculpture in the guise of a Hindu deity is substituted for the *linga*, seems to me to be due to the influence of strongly Indianized

¹ Krom, *Inleiding*, vol. ii, pp. 39-44; *OV.*, 1924, description and plates by de Haan.

² Stutterheim, "De Beelden van Belahan," *Djawa*, 18, pp. 299-308, 8 plates, 1938.

Javanese ideas. This is borne out by the contemporary Javanese style of the statues, especially of the Viṣṇu, a work of great beauty and perfection, worthy of the highest Indo-Malaysian standards and very different from the Balinese portrait sculpture of the time.

Nevertheless the Jalatunda and Belahan tomb-bathing tanks are essentially products of the Balinese resurgence, and as such represent basically pre-Indian concepts. Coomaraswamy has compared¹ the figures of Śrī and Lakṣmī at Belahan, the water of life spouting from their breasts, to the *yakṣī* figures invariably associated with tanks in Dravidian cults. Heine-Geldern has shown that burial in connection with water-tanks is typically Older Megalithic. He has compared the Balinese practice with that of the Nagas of Assam and of the megalithic cultures of Nias and North Luzon.² It is undoubtedly significant that following this Balinese period in East Java, such tomb-bathing tanks are never again made in Java, although in the very latest East Javanese period there was a return to the Older Megalithic practice of burial on mountain slopes.

In Bali itself, as a result of the Javanese influence that remained strong for a time owing to the Javanese birth of Airlangga's mother,³ the Balinese royal tomb underwent some further evolution and the "rock *chandi*" was produced, of which about a dozen sites have been found. The most important is the series of nine at Tampak Siring,⁴ where Airlangga's brother and his queens were buried in 1080. Here a temple façade is cut in bold relief in each of nine deep niches in the rocky river cliff. Significantly enough Bali's holiest spring, Tirta Mpul, is situated near by. The ashes were buried

¹ *Yakṣas* II, p. 71.

² "Vorgeschichtliche . . .", p. 21.

³ As seen for example in the Goa Gadjah spout figure, Stutterheim, *Indian Influences in Old-Balinese Art*, London, 1935, pl. viii; and in the introduction of old Javanese court language (Goris, *Djawa*, vol. xvi, 1936, p. 93).

⁴ *OV*, 1921; Krom, *Inleiding*, pl. 48.

below and behind the façade by means of a shaft running underneath. As at Belahan, it is probable that a portrait statue was originally placed in front of the façade. This is supported by the fact that at a similar tomb by the river Kalebutan, the figure of the dead king is sculptured in high relief on the false door.¹ Architecturally the façades are Javanese in style, thus bearing out our supposition of Javanese influence. And, as Krom remarked,² they show in their roof structure a stage midway between that of the Central Javanese temples and that of the East Javanese.

It would be wrong, however, to see in these so-called "rock *chandis*" a stage in the evolution of the real Javanese *chandi*, or structural tomb-temple. This did not come into existence until two centuries later and was, as we shall see, produced independently by the Javanese from the Indian temple form. Later a few real *chandis* of Javanese type were indeed built in Bali. But so meagre are they that Stutterheim concluded that the Balinese can never have been such *chandi* builders as were the Majapahit Javanese.³ Goris goes further, and I agree with him. He shows⁴ that there is good reason to believe that the *chandi* was really quite foreign to Balinese religious conceptions and that it was built only at times and in places of Javanese influence. This explains why the majority of Balinese portrait statues were found on mountain terraces, especially on Gunung Panulisan.⁵

Of this Balinese portrait sculpture I shall say but a few words here, since the subject of mortuary sculpture and its significance will be considered when dealing with the Javanese. The only point I wish to make here is that, as we know from a double image of a king and

¹ Stutterheim, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

² Krom, *Inleiding*, vol. ii, p. 53.

³ *Oudheden van Bali*, p. 99; *Indian Influences* . . . , p. 28.

⁴ "Bali's Tempelwezen," *Djawa*, vol. xviii, Nos. 1-2, p. 89.

⁵ Stutterheim, *Indian Influences* . . . , p. 28, pls. vi and vii.

queen,¹ dated from an inscription on the back as of A.D. 1011, we can say that with the Balinese resurgence mortuary sculpture of a style not made in Java until centuries later was already in use. This and other early examples, while making use of Hindu deity forms, are primitive in technique, which is later improved. At the same time the ornament becomes over-elaborated and Balinese facial features are emphasized.²

Side by side with this rigid mortuary sculpture, and comparable to the Jalatunda reliefs, there flourished in Bali from the late tenth to the fourteenth century a school of sculpture the elaborate undulating ornamentation of which, accompanied by baroque demoniacal figures, bespeak a revival of Dongsonian art styles, strongly modified by Tantric concepts. Of the few examples that have survived, notable are the Pedjeng spout and the holy water vessel.³

The Balinese religion during the resurgence was evidently a cult of the dead, strongly flavoured with Tantric borrowings which could be utilized to facilitate the escape of the soul. But the way in which this religion developed can only be understood on the analogy of the Javanese evolution for which, as we shall see, we have much fuller material at our disposal.

We know little of Balinese temples of the period late tenth to early fourteenth century, but that little is important, especially as it concerns the character of the royal temples.⁴ We know that the Balinese rulers had a realm temple (*panataran*) in their capital city and a terrace temple on the mountain. The former temple, in which Śiva, identified with the Mountain God⁵ and Primordial Ancestor, had first place, was used as an assembly place and as a medium for contacting the

¹ *ibid.*, pl. vii.

² *ibid.*, pls. x-xiv.

³ *ibid.*, pls. xvii, xviii.

⁴ R. Goris, *loc. cit.*, pp. 30-42.

⁵ Goris, *Djawa*, vol. xviii, p. 45, note 32.

gods in their capacity of landlords or deities of the place (cf. the Sumerian city gods). The mountain temple, on the other hand, was the place for making contact with the same gods, but in their capacity of ancestors. Village temples combined both functions but were concerned mostly with local ancestors or founders of the village community.

While Pedjeng was the capital of the purely Balinese kingdom, Tegeh Koripan on Gunung Panulisan was the mountain temple. Later, when the capital was at Gelgel or Klungkung, Besakih on Gunung Agung was the state mountain temple. It is of this temple of Besakih that we have an adequate description as it still exists.¹ Although it was the state mountain temple only from about A.D. 1400, that is to say after Bali had undergone strong Javanization, there is good reason to suppose that the Besakih temple continued in the Balinese tradition. Not only was it probably built on an old megalithic terrace but it was at about that time that the Javanese themselves reverted to the building of mountain terrace temples (Sukuh and Cheta) in place of the *chandi*, which they had for long used as a symbol of the ancestor abode or mountain of the gods (page 148). Now on this Besakih temple lower shrines are dedicated to various royal ancestors, to the world serpent Ananta-bhoga and to Śrī the fertility goddess (both with pre-Hindu significance), also to the Hindu trinity regarded as natural forces. The topmost terrace is reserved for the shrines of the Mountain God of Gunung Agung, identified as the primordial ancestor. As in the latest period in Java, so in these mountain temples of Bali, in which the mountain gods have pride of place and are identified with the original ancestor, we are near to the original Older Megalithic cult.

In general we cannot rely on the Bali of post A.D. 1348

¹ R. Goris, "De Poera Besakih," *Djawa*, vol. xvii, Dec., 1937 pp. 261-280.

to provide us with any trustworthy information on the Balinese cultural evolution. In that year the island was conquered by the Javanese and the Javanization that followed that event was rendered extreme by the immigration of Javanese in the following century, after the fall of the Majapahit empire. So extreme was this acculturation that our knowledge of later Bali can be more properly regarded as complementary to what we know of the East Javanese civilization, and as such we shall utilize it in the next chapter.

The special interest of our study of Pre-Majapahit Bali has been that it has familiarized us with the phenomenon of a resurgent pre-Hindu culture, developing in its own way and borrowing only to a limited extent from the Indian. This should help us towards an understanding of certain phases of the Indo-Javanese evolution.

CHAPTER V

JAVA

(1) THE CENTRAL JAVANESE PERIOD

No early Indian inscriptions of the fifth or sixth century, such as are known from Sunda, have come to light in the central part of Java. Indeed the only inscription that might be attributed to Indian culture bearers is that of Tuk Mas, dating from the seventh-century A.D. Since the earliest dated temple, that of Gunung Wukir, a Śaivite shrine where was found the Changal inscription of A.D. 732, was of only partially non-perishable construction, we can hardly hope that the remains of earlier buildings, if discovered, would consist of more than basements giving little architectural information.

The earliest remaining temples of entirely non-perishable construction, are the Śaivite shrines of the Dieng plateau. These probably do not date from earlier than the beginning of the ninth century A.D. That they seem to perpetuate an earlier style of architecture than that of the contemporary Buddhist temples of the plain of Kedu is therefore only due to their older Hindu tradition. Even so they represent a stage in which the development of a distinctive Indo-Javanese architecture has already advanced some way, and is made difficult of analysis by reason of the lack of earlier data.

Heine-Geldern has well summed up the position as follows: "Hindu-Javanese art, when it suddenly emerges as a result of the adoption of stone as material for buildings and sculptures, had already acquired a distinctive character of its own which makes it difficult

or even impossible to trace its origins back to any one of the various styles of India. We shall probably come nearest to the truth if we assume that it was born out of the interaction of several Indian styles—for people from Northern as well as Southern India took part in the colonial movement—and of native Indonesian influences.”¹

Krom indeed had already recognized that no fatherland for Indo-Javanese art could be pointed to in India. And we may go so far as to agree with him that the Dieng art shows “most agreement with, or properly, least difference from” South Indian art, specifically in the square plan, symmetry, roof stages, and stress on horizontal lines.² Decoration is with pilasters and such simple Indian motifs as garlands and lotus petals, complex foliage motifs apparently not yet appearing. In my opinion the fact that the Indo-Javanese temples up to the early part of the ninth century were built of wood or mixed materials points to South Indian influence being predominant, for prior to this both in North India and in Indochina brick temples were being constructed.

Pallava influence is perhaps most strongly indicated by the presence of the *kāla-makara* over doorways, for the *kāla-makara*, as a combined motif, was a Pallava innovation in Indian art.³ We have already seen the relative preponderance of Pallava influence in Indo-Malaysian sculpture and this applies even more to the sculpture of the Dieng plateau.⁴

At first the action of local genius is clearly restricted to the rejection of certain traits in the Indian pattern and the stressing of some of those that are accepted with the pattern as a whole. Rejection is however a negative process that does little to develop the local character of

¹ Introduction to *Catalogue of Indonesian Art Exhibition*, New York, 1948.

² *Geschiedenis*, p. 128 f; *Inleiding*, i, p. 138.

³ G. de Coral Rémusat, *RAA*, vol. viii, p. 247.

⁴ *Ars Asiatica*, viii, pls. 3 and 4; Bosch, *Rupam*, No. 17, pl. 17.

an art, and it is also often difficult to be certain that absence of a trait implies that it was rejected by local genius. Thus the absence of pillars in Javanese art, with consequent inability to undertake large vaulted structures, and the widespread use of tongued and grooved jointing of masonry courses¹ is probably simply due to the fear of earthquake destruction. Was it for the same reason that the rectangular plan and wagon roof were never adopted? And then a certain element, for reasons at which we can at best guess, may never have been introduced by the culture-bearers. Many of the elements tabulated by Marchal as absent in Greater India may be put down to this, e.g. the splendid lion-based pillar of the Pallavas, and the general simplification of column and pillar capitals as compared with their great variety in India.²

Even if the rejection of a trait could be proved, this is likely to reveal little of the character of an art, for it is an action that reaches finality as soon as begun. On the other hand, the choosing of a feature for stress and subsequent moulding is a continuing procedure. It not only quickly gives the art a distinctive character, but is likely to reveal more and more as it gathers momentum the nature of the genius involved. And here it may be recalled that, according to our working hypothesis, the local genius with which we are going to be concerned in tracing the Indo-Javanese evolution is the most complex of all, its constant features being the Older Megalithic, Egyptian (?), Younger Megalithic/Dongsonian, and the Han.

In the Dieng temples the intensity of Indian influence still allows small scope for expression of local genius. And, though the cult of the *liṅga* would no doubt have been very acceptable to the Javanese, the Śaivite form

¹ H. Marchal, *L'Architecture Comparee dans l'Inde et l'Extrême-Orient*, Paris, 1944, p. 237; Krom, *Inleiding*, vol. I, p. 159.

² Marchal, loc. cit., p. 234.

of Hinduism is only what one would expect to find in any region so strongly influenced by the Pallava wave. However the special cult of the royal *linga* (*devarāja*), to the significance of which we have referred earlier (page 62), is attested in Java both by the Changal inscription of A.D. 732 and by the Dinaya inscription of 760.¹ But, as Krom remarks, the traditions of it are less clear than in Cambodia and Champa. They reappear in original *linga* form only in the latest Majapahit times. The location of the Dieng temples in the mountains, the indigenous ancestor abode, may probably be regarded as an expression of Javanese preference for the worship of Śiva Giriśa, replacing the cult of the local mountain god.

We may now consider the feature of the Dieng temples which, as it is increasingly emphasized and developed through the action of local genius, will do much to give Indo-Javanese art its distinctive character. This is the *kāla-makara* motif, which appears already over both doors and niches of the Dieng temples. Of its origin much has been written, as has also been the case with the cognate *t'ao t'ie* emblem of China.² Whatever its origin, that its significance, whatever that might be, was of basic importance to the understanding of Indo-Javanese art was already realized by Brandes at the beginning of this century.³

The late (twelfth century A.D.) Skanda Purāṇa contains a story purporting to account for the Indian *kīrtimukha* head as a monster appointed by Śiva as the guardian of his shrines. This is probably an explanatory

¹ F. D. K. Bosch, "Het lingga-heiligdom van Dinaja," *Tijd.*, vol. lxiv, 1924, pp. 227-286; Krom, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 124, 148.

² W. F. Stutterheim, "The Meaning of the Kāla-makara Ornament," *I. A. & L.*, vol. iii, 1929, pp. 27-52, figs. 1-11; G. de Coral Rémusat, "De l'origine commune des linteaux de l'Inde Pallava et des linteaux khmers préangkoriens," *RAA*, vol. viii, 1934; G. de Coral Rémusat, "Animaux fantastiques de l'Indochine, de l'Insulinde et de la Chine," *BEFEO*, vol. xxxvi, 1936, pp. 427-435.

³ Stutterheim, loc. cit., p. 27.

myth, but it may well be that substantially the same conception was already held by the Pallavas with regard to the *kāla-makara* combination, and that they used it largely for its magical protective value. "We must assume," says Stutterheim,¹ "that existing protective ornamental forms were only applied by tradition, and with but a vague reminiscence of their originally supposed effects." Once introduced to Java a tendency to develop the motif's decorative possibilities was paralleled, as we shall see, by a tendency to replace it by another motif whose symbolism was perhaps rather more alive in the minds of most Javanese.

In the Dieng temples manifestation of local genius in regard to the *kāla-makara* seems to be confined to change in composition. This may be attributed to the Han element—the most recently acquired element incidentally—in the local genius. As Mme de Coral pointed out,² while the *makaras* are morphologically Indian, they usually face outwards in Indo-Javanese art, after the manner of the *t'ao t'ie* which is such a feature of the decoration of Han toranas. Apart from this change in composition we may also feel, in view of the motif's subsequent history, that its prominence on the Dieng temples is due to its stressing by the Javanese artists rather than merely to its happening to have been introduced by the Indians.

We shall now go on to consider the evolutionary progress made by the almost contemporary but further developed *Mahāyāna Buddhist temples of the plain of Kedu*.³ These include Barabudur and Mendut, probably late eighth century; Kalasan, perhaps mid-ninth (since it is now known that the A.D. 778 Kalasan inscription referred to the foundation of the first of three buildings on the same site)⁴; and Sewu of about the same date,

¹ *ibid.*, p. 29.

² "Animaux fantastiques . . .," *loc. cit.*

³ Krom, *Inleiding*, vol. i, pp. 241-399.

⁴ *OV*, 1940, p. 20 f.

with its 250 subsidiary shrines representing a stone *maṇḍala*. This indicates that Tantric Buddhism, of which the magic practices would be most readily acceptable by the Javanese, was by then established in Java.¹ Indeed this was already the case in the Buddhism of Barabudur, according to Krom.²

The first thing to be noted about all these temples is that, while they maintain the established characteristics of Indo-Javanese art already noticed, they also show certain new, though also Indian, features. These are not necessarily because they are Buddhist, but because they show the effects of a later wave of Indian influence—the Pāla. Most noticeable, in the sanctuary towers, is the increasing tendency towards a cruciform plan, with fully developed side chapels in (the later) Kalasan and in Sewu. In the latter the circumbulatory passage on the terrace around the main tower passes through the side chapel walls in a manner reminiscent of the Paharpur temple of Bengal.

In the matter of ornament we can attribute to the Pāla wave the introduction of complicated foliage motifs which belonged to the art of Northern India more than to that of the South. On the other hand it is rather to the demands of Buddhism that we can attribute the development of great bas-relief panels (Mendut) or series of reliefs (Barabudur). Naturally too, it is to the Buddhism that most strongly marked the Pāla wave, that is due the crowning of the temples with large *stūpas*, and the use of miniature ones as angle ornaments.

The Barabudur, whatever else it may be, is structurally a pyramid. Mus considers that it is a closed cosmos, that is to say a representation of the upper stages of the cosmic mountain (Meru) enclosed within the bare cupola of the sky. It really differs from the common Indian and Burmese terrace-based *stūpas* only

¹ Cœdès, *Les États* . . . , p. 156.

² Krom, *Barabudur*, vol. ii, p. 331 f.

in the multiplication of its paradise-representing stages at the expense of its actual *stūpa*; and it is questionable whether we need suppose a change of plan in course of construction as did Parmentier.¹ Many indeed may prefer Mus' hypothesis which offers a solution to the problem of the Barabudur as it actually is.² In either case the building is Indian both in conception and in architectural form, as is indeed to be expected at this early date in Indo-Javanese evolution. And, in the shape in which we see it, it was actually realized in Ceylon, at least in miniature, for there have been found hollow *stūpas* containing a stone representing Mount Meru.³

Nevertheless, on the basis of Mus' theory, it could reasonably be advanced that the Javanese had *selected* here the type of Mahāyānist *stūpa* that most appealed to them. It was built at a time when, as we have seen, the *devarāja* cult in its Śaivite form had only recently receded into the background. Such evidence of a *choice* based on ancient preference would be in accordance with the manner in which at this time local genius was most able to express itself. In the same line of thought, Schnitger, recognizing that the Javanese had had their megalithic terraces before the coming of the Hindus, concludes: "It is perhaps for this reason that the Javanese appreciate Barabudur more than all their other sanctuaries. Temples with covered chambers were never popular with them. But Barabudur, boldly seated on its terraces, open to the sky, free in nature like an altar of beauty, certainly smacked of the soil."⁴

No doubt Mahāyāna Buddhism, even though already tinged with Tantric Vajrayānism, could not have obtained the easy acceptance on the part of the Javanese masses as did Śaivism. Yet it must have been willingly

¹ P. Mus, "Barabudur," *BEFEO*, vol. xxxii, 1932, pp. 294 ff.

² P. Mus, "Barabudur," loc. cit., part iii.

³ *ibid.*, p. 376.

⁴ F. M. Schnitger, "Les Terrasses Mégalithiques de Java," *RAA*, vol. xiii, p. 114.

accepted by the Śailendra rulers, and by the upper classes, for otherwise we could hardly have had such clear and vital expression of local genius as we find in these splendid Buddhist monuments of Central Java.

That there was indeed no small degree of assimilation of the Mahāyāna is not to be wondered at in view of Mus' demonstration¹ that, just as was the Śaivite *linga*, so was the Buddhist *stūpa* essentially founded on primordial concepts common to Indian and local belief. Both were primarily means of making metaphysical contact with the departed by means of a substitute body. The *stūpa* was a symbol of the cosmic law which, like the royal *prāsāda* spire as a connection with the divine source of royal power, provided means of maintaining contact with the Dharma which the Buddha had left to replace him since he himself, having vanished into Nirvana, was no longer accessible. In line with ancient Asiatic beliefs it was natural to wish to concentrate this Dharma at the centre of the kingdom, mystic centre of royal and divine power. That the Central Javanese temples of Plaosan and Sajiwan were built side by side with Hindu Lara-Jongrang, as late as the beginning of the tenth century A.D., shows that Mahāyāna Buddhism must have made a fairly deep impression.

In the wonderful bas-reliefs of the Barabudur the originality and freedom for which they are so justly famous are not merely a matter of local variation in the rendering of scenes from the Lalita Vistara and Jātaka stories, the introduction of Javanese animals and plants, etc., and the resemblance of house roofs to those shown on Dong-So'n drums. In my opinion, they find scope for expression in the sculptural technique itself. For although this must have been mainly learnt from India, the peculiar refinement and delicacy, on which all have remarked, probably in some degree reflect the ability that the Javanese had acquired when their

¹ "Barabudur," pt. 5, chaps. 3 and 4, *BEFEO*, vol. 33.

megalithic forebears were learning to express themselves naturalistically under Han guidance. But the *śāstras* always enjoin a strictly conventional representation of the more sacred figures.

In the field of ornament the Dong-So'n element in local genius now strongly manifests itself in the obvious preference for the newly introduced motifs based on spirals, which are employed with a lavishness not met with in India, though still in such manner as to be strictly subordinate to architectural considerations. The *kāla-makara* is more splendidly developed and more frequent than in the Dieng temples, a fact which speaks loudly for this being due to local preference, since in origin the motif was a Pallava and not a Pāla introduction. At the same time its decorative possibilities are fully exploited.

But so dominating is the impression that the *kāla-makara* creates over entrances and niches of the Barabudur and over doorways of other temples, that one can hardly doubt that it preserved an important symbolism. Indeed one may agree with Przyluski that already "the central deity [with whom the king identified himself] must have been conceived in a different way by the initiated and by the humble subjects of the kingdom".¹ That central deity had been the Mountain God translated into Śiva Giriśa (as *devarāja*) before the Śailendras (Kings of the Mountain), on their conversion to Buddhism, had transformed the god into the supreme Buddha.² But as we watch the gradual change that from now on modifies the form of the *kāla-makara* we may find reason to believe that the more immediate "different way" in which the humble people regarded the deity, and which was probably not far removed from the full awareness of the initiated, was more associated

¹ "The Terminal Stupa of the Barabudur," *JGIS*, vol. iii, 1936, p. 169.

² "The Śailendravamsa," *JGIS*, vol. ii, p. 32.

for the time being with the sun than with the basic mountain deity.

The Lara-Jongrang (Prambanan) Temple,¹ dating from about A.D. 915, is a Central Javanese product of the Hindu revival that followed the loss of Java by the Buddhist Śailendras. Though believed to have been built as the burial place of King Balitung, it is still essentially a temple and it remains quite orthodox in its symmetrical arrangement. A main Śiva temple is flanked by a smaller Viṣṇu and a Brahmā temple, each of which is faced by what is probably the shrine of the appropriate *vāhana*. The avenue between the main and the *vāhana* temples is closed by a small subsidiary shrine. The whole is surrounded by a square walled enclosure which is itself within a larger enclosure, the area between being occupied by three concentric squares of small shrines. As to the style of the architecture, it differs little from that of the contemporary Buddhist temples of Sajiwan and Plaosan. But the Pāla influence, seen in the tendency to a cruciform plan, with, in the main Śiva temple, the full development of side chapels, is declining in favour of the more persistent Pallava. The deity sculpture remains typical of Indo-Malaysian art.

To me it would appear doubtful that one could attribute the apparent heightening and terracing of the basement to the action of local genius, although the mouldings show certain peculiarities of East Javanese architecture. Although the terraced base of the Śiva temple, with its admirable series of bas-reliefs, looms so large in the estimation of the visitor in the present ruined state of the main temples, a glance at a restoration sketch² shows no undue emphasis of the basement in proportion to the temple proper, as compared with

¹ Krom, *Inleiding*, vol. i, pp. 440-490.

² e.g. in "De Wederopbouw van den Ciwa-tempel te Prambanan," by V. R. van Romondt, *Djawa*, vol. xx, 1940, fig. 11.

Paharpur, for example. But possibly in the use of such a well-marked terrace basement we have another case of the exercise of choice by the Javanese. An aspiring appearance is moreover given to the whole complex by the gradual heightening of the small shrines towards the centre of the group. In the matter of ornament, Lara-Jongrang shares with Buddhist Plaosan a tendency to enhance the decorative use of motifs; but a hint of the increased activity here of the Older Megalithic element in the genius is given by the presence of more rosettes, lozenges, etc., than of motifs based on spirals.¹

The bas-reliefs of Lara-Jongrang follow purely Indian versions of the Rāmāyaṇa,² though these versions differ from the literary one.³ In style the reliefs differ from those of the Barabudur most noticeably in their greater dynamism and fullness of life; but probably their character and composition are now more influenced by Pallava than by North Indian ideals.

The *kāla-makara* at Lara-Jongrang shows an interesting change. While the *makara* remains unaltered in form and position, the *kāla* head becomes slightly more rounded, thereby taking up less space on the lintel. It is thus less well adapted to crown it, a sure sign that the change is in no way dictated by architectural requirement. Here we meet a first case of the definite *moulding* by local genius, as distinct from the mere exercise of choice.

Stutterheim recognized⁴ that the decoration of the bases of Lara-Jongrang with World Trees (here still to be seen as the Indian *pārijāta* tree) was one of the signs that the temple was a Meru. Indeed he recognized that all Indian temples were Merus and that they had developed from the Sumerian ziggurat (like the

¹ *Djawa*, loc. cit., fig. 7.

² J. Kats, *Het Rāmāyaṇa op Javaansche Tempel Reliefs*, 1926, with English trans. of captions.

³ Krom, *Geschiedenis*, p. 174.

⁴ "The Meaning of the Hindu-Javanese Candi," *JOAS*, vol. li, 1931.

Barabudur *stūpa-meru*) under the influence of Assyrio-Babylonian and Persian thought. The Indian temple was never a building of the sort that we understand by the word temple, and as we might be misled into supposing by the appearance of certain elements in its superstructure. This fact has been clearly brought out in the most recent study of the Indian temple: "The high superstructure is not derived from any particular roof shape; these in certain types are embodied in its form. It is not a roof with increased height; it is a form of sacred architecture . . . it rises like a mountain . . . the names of the first temple types recorded in the early texts are those of the mountain: Meru, Mandara, Kailāsa."¹

The Javanese fully appreciated the Indian temple as a Meru symbol and, as we know from the *Tantu Panggelaran*, the Indian Meru must have been at once acceptable to them, since their own earlier idea of the cosmic mountain, like the Meru, was ultimately derived from the ziggurat. It was probably because the Indian temple made immediate appeal to the Javanese as a fitting symbol for the cosmic mountain that, so long as the identification lasted, there was no great incentive to emphasize a pyramidal basement.

At this stage it is not as yet the Older Megalithic element in the local genius that is able to manifest itself, so much as the solar element. One indication of a bias towards a solar cult seems to be clearly revealed as a result of Stutterheim's insight in interpreting the arrangement of the Rāmāyaṇa reliefs on the Śiva temple basement at Lara-Jongrang. He showed² that the series of reliefs is so divided as to correspond to the divisions of the year and day in Hindu time reckoning, and Rāma's career is divided into four parts corresponding to the four parts of the sun's daily or yearly course.

¹ Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, 1946, vol. i, pp. 166 ff.

² "De Stichter der Prambanan tempels," *Djawa*, vol. xx, No. 3, 1940.

If this temple was not erected to the universal impersonal Śiva but was, as Stutterheim supposed, the burial place and monument of King Balitung, this correspondence of the reliefs to the sun's course would not be surprising. In that case the reliefs would not be for the Javanese just the illustrations of a foreign epic, but the representations of the stirring deeds of Balitung's ancestors. Although Śiva has not yet become, as he will do later, the Sun god ancestor, a repressed trend in that direction is indicated by the fact that this manifestation of solar bias in the arrangement of the reliefs occurs in the Śiva temple. In the same way, while the statue of Mahādeva in this temple may represent Balitung, both it and the other statuary of Lara-Jongrang, and of contemporary Hindu and Buddhist temples, still conform to the Indo-Malaysian style. There is no sign of the rigid frontality displayed by the later mortuary sculpture and there is no loss of the attributes of the Hindu deities.

Thus there would seem to have been a definite evolution of religious thought at Lara-Jongrang, as well as a moulding of artistic expression, even though this remains well within what could pass muster as purely Indian. Indeed the stressing of the solar aspect of the Hindu gods is something which could quite well be tolerated within the bounds of strict Hinduism, for Indian gods and kings, it is fully recognized, had their solar facies. However, as Mus has pointed out,¹ this was never developed in the one-sided manner imagined by Senart in *La légende du Bouddha*. Even if the influence of a Hindu solar sect, such as were established in India under Zoroastrian influences, could be proved, subsequent developments in Java would oblige me to ascribe the stressing of the solar aspect here, at least in part, to the action of a local factor.

Since King Balitung came from East Java it might at first sight appear likely that the changes for which he

¹ *BEFEO*, vol. xxxiii, p. 654.

was responsible would have been in the nature of loans to the Central Javanese from a less Indianized source. But we have in fact seen no introduction of borrowed traits, only the moulding by local genius of concepts and motifs that can still be regarded as Indian. Hence to look upon Balitung in the light of a "cultural accident" would, I think, be to misunderstand what he stood for. He is, I believe, more properly to be seen as the forerunner in a tendency towards increased Javanization which would gain in momentum as Indian influences waned; but the tendency was still operating behind a strictly Indian façade. The fact that in East Java the only temples, Badut, Besuki, and Gunung Gangsir,¹ dating from the Central Javanese period, are Central Javanese in style, suggests that Lara-Jongrang represents a stage in evolution that was not dependent on the origin of Balitung from East Java. In other words subsequent developments would have been the same whether the capital had remained in Central Java, or been removed, as actually happened in A.D. 929, to East Java.

(2) THE KADIRI AND SINGHASĀRI PERIODS

The coming of Airlangga from Bali to reign over the East Javanese kingdom (1006-1049) can be more legitimately regarded as a "cultural accident". While the very greatness of his exploits, rather than any cultural influence, was probably the cause of stimulating Javanese literati to a certain amount of activity,² he and his father Udayana certainly did introduce some innovations in the field of art: bas-reliefs of *wayang* style and tomb-bathing tanks. As we have seen, these were either before their time (the bas-relief style) or else

¹ Krom, *Geschiedenis*, p. 161.

² Cœdès, *Les États* . . . , p. 248.

were never accepted by the Javanese. It is not in the least surprising that at one time ¹ Stutterheim supposed that the profoundly changed style of the bas-reliefs of Jalatunda, as compared with those of Lara-Jongrang which were little more than half a century earlier, meant that a very sudden cultural resurgence had occurred in Java. And it goes greatly to his credit that he afterwards recognized ² that these innovations represented a temporary attempt to do things *à la* Balinese. The fashion was short-lived, and to me it seems doubtful if it had much or any effect on quickening the pre-Indian resurgence in Java.

Having recognized thus the accidental and temporary nature of the Balinese intrusion, we might expect to find that further Indo-Javanese evolution, after the transfer of rule to East Java, would continue along the lines indicated at Lara-Jongrang. We might, however, expect to find more modesty in execution, due to the reduced conditions of material wealth resulting from Airlangga's strange action in dividing his realm into two states of which one, as the kingdom of Kaḍiri, was soon to absorb the other. But this would hardly account for the extreme paucity of the remains that we do find. Even allowing for a static period of a century, covering the transfer to East Java and the Balinese intrusion, it is at first sight astonishing that practically no archæological remains have survived to mark the long period of one and three-quarter centuries from the death of Airlangga (1049) to the end of the Kaḍiri kingdom in A.D. 1222. This time we may refer to as the Kaḍiri period.

In my opinion this apparent hiatus, which has so puzzled previous writers, is not so hard to explain on mainly cultural grounds. Although Indian influence, here as elsewhere, had long been ebbing, the intensive Indianization to which Java had been subjected probably

¹ "Oost-Javaansche kunst," *Djawa*, vol. vii, 1927, p. 179.

² *Oudheden van Bali*, 1929, p. 149.

still tended to restrict the working of local genius here, as compared with other parts of the eastern zone. At the same time lack of further Indian stimulus brought about no enrichment. That would apply also to Cambodia and Champa, but there is another factor there to be taken into consideration. In the ninth century those two countries, as a result of influences emanating from Java, had had their arts enormously enriched by Indo-Javanese motifs and technique. This particularly benefited Khmer art, giving it some of the refinements proper to Javanese culture. On the other hand, there was no counter influence introducing into Java the grandeur of Khmer architectural conceptions and the strength of their sculptural style. At this stage such an influence could have made an important contribution to the Indo-Javanese evolution, owing to the relative weakness of the Older Megalithic in the Javanese local genius consequent upon this element in the genius having been pushed into the background by more recent pre-Indian civilizations. Denied this reciprocity, and in view of material fortunes that certainly did not represent an improvement on Central Javanese conditions, we could hardly expect to find the architecture of the Kaḍiri period to consist of anything more than modest buildings (little fitted for lengthy survival). In these we should expect to see local genius gaining ground against a strong though doomed Indian conservatism; in other words the local people very slowly making headway in moulding the Indian data more and more in their own way.

The above, fortunately, does not have to remain an altogether untested hypothesis. While little else survives from the Kaḍiri period, we have in the Śaivite temple of Kiḍal what amounts to an end product of whatever had been developing since Central Javanese times. As it was built in or shortly before A.D. 1248, as the burial sanctuary of King Anūṣapati, it was actually

a product of the Singhasāri period. But Krom emphasized¹ its distinctiveness from the typical temples of the Singhasāri period, stressing, as compared to them, the "classicism" of the architecture of Kidal. He considered it to be the last instance of attachment to Central Javanese architectural canons, with ornament which, though in itself East Javanese in style, was subordinated in its use to architectural considerations.

In addition to many *līngas*, considerable sculptural remains were found at the Kidal temple. While the subsidiary ones show a local style, comparable to the reliefs of the Singhasāri period which we shall shortly be mentioning, the deity sculpture, including a statue of Śiva, with whom King Anūṣapati was probably identified, still adheres rather closely to the Indo-Malaysian style.²

Despite the conservatism of the architecture generally, the Javanese have in the Kidal temple made a certain amount of progress in moulding the "classic" data. There is a noticeable degree of heightening of the basement in proportion to the sanctuary, there is some tendency towards constriction of the body of the building and a pyramidal simplification of the roof structure, all characteristics of Majapahit architecture to which we shall return later. Decoration shows a significant double tendency, first towards the spiralization of foliage motifs (Dong-So'n), but also a breaking up of such spirals into isolated motifs, and above all a liking for medallions (Older Megalithic).

Most interesting, as usual, is the change in the *kāla-makara* emblem crowning the doorways. The *kāla* head is much more definitely rounded than was the case at Lara-Jongrang, an effect furthered by the adoption of a lower jaw, and it has grown a pair of hands which

¹ *Inleiding*, vol. ii, p. 56.

² Krom, *Inleiding*, vol. ii, pp. 57-66; De Haan and Bosch, *Publicaties van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië—I*, Tjandi Kidal, 1925.

grasp snakes. These are trying to replace the Indian *makaras* which, however, survive as traces in medallions beside the doors.¹ This shows very well the increasing power of local genius to guide the course of the evolution.

We now come to the developments of the much less static, though relatively short, period during which Singhasāri was the capital of the kingdom of East Java (1222-1292). The chief monuments of this period are the two temples of Jago and Singhasāri.² Of the former the superstructure is unfortunately very ruined. The latter is really just the one surviving sanctuary tower of a group, the only one moreover whose remains sufficiently permitted of restoration to enable a good idea to be formed of the style of Singhasāri architecture. Neither of these temples can be dated exactly. It can only be said that they both date from the second half of the thirteenth century and that Jago was the burial place of King Viṣṇuvardhana, who died in A.D. 1268.

Architecturally what we see here is still essentially a development of the Central Javanese style. Apart from this fact, one is perhaps as much impressed by the evidence of renewed Indian influence as by local response to this, although the latter was also marked. Thus the roof loses its tendency to pyramidal simplicity, and to some extent restores its separate fictive storeys ornamented with turrets. The porches, all but lost at Kidal, now reappear. They give the temple, especially in the case of Singhasāri, the cruciform plan so characteristic of Pāla art in its more developed form. The ornament of Jago (that of Singhasāri remained unfinished) shows the reintroduction of some characteristically Indian foliage designs on the door jambs.

¹ Stutterheim, "The Meaning of the Kāla-makara Ornament," loc. cit., fig. 4.

² Krom, *Inleiding*, vol. ii, pp. 70-136, pl. 50-63; Brandes, *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari*, 1909; Brandes, *Beschrijving van de ruïne bij de desa Toempang, genaamd Tjandi Djago*, 1904; *The Antiquities of Singasari*, Jessy Blom, Leiden, 1939.

In view of the above facts I am inclined to agree with Brandes, as against Krom,¹ that in the band in the roof with animal motifs, of the Singhasāri temple, especially the lion head and *makara*, we must recognize the result of a new influx of Indian influence, although it is likely to be late Pāla, not South Indian as Brandes thought. Krom's explanation was as follows: He believed that these motifs were brought to Java by the early Indian colonists and were then kept in abeyance and utilized only by the East Javanese artists to whom for some reason or other they appealed. But such an explanation is not at all in consonance with what we know of the working of culture change, especially as concerns the *makara*, which in East Java—as elsewhere in the eastern zone—always tends to be replaced by the *nāga*.

The religion practised in these temples was late Mahāyānist in the case of Jago, and predominantly Śaivite in the Singhasāri temple; but in the latter both Śaivite and Buddhist statues of excellent workmanship have been found. Indeed the technical perfection is such that formerly they were thought to have been made in India; and there is none of the stiffness of the mortuary sculpture, which was so soon to dominate the plastic art of East Java. As Bernet Kempers has shown,² the dress of the deities adheres closely to the Pāla style, notably in such details as the loops and ribbons behind the ears, and the shawls and bodices of the goddesses. Thus we can say that the South Indian preferences which acted as a barrier to the admission of these peculiarities in Indo-Malaysian sculpture are no longer potent.

In addition to these stylistic features, the use of the *nāgarī* script (not the pre-*nāgarī* of Central Java) can leave us in no doubt that these Singhasāri sculptures cannot be merely a development from what has gone before, but must result from a strong new wave of

¹ *Inleiding*, vol. ii, p. 83 f.

² "The Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu-Javanese Art," pp. 75-9.

Indian influence. This is not surprising in view of what we know from the statements of Taranatha about the scattering of the monks of Magadha in every direction after the downfall of Buddhism in Northern India. There are also the references in East Javanese literature to relations between Bengal and Java and of the arrivals of Brahmans in South-east Asia.¹ And at the same time we should note that, whatever may have been the hope of the Indian monks, there was no question of extreme acculturation of the Javanese at this period. Close adherence to the prescribed forms in deity sculpture is what we have found to be the rule in periods of strong Indian influence. But, as Kempers remarked,² the occurrence of an old-Javanese cipher, written in the same hand as the *nāgarī* script, bears out the likelihood that the actual sculptors were Javanese not Indians.

When one turns from the deity sculpture to the other manifestations of Singhasāri art, the working of local genius plainly reveals itself. And this is indeed what might be expected when one recalls that Angrok, the founder of the dynasty, was an adventurer of humble birth. Perhaps most strikingly the *kāla* heads show a further degree of rounding, the unornamented ones of the Singhasāri temple being quite disc-like, and from doors and porches they seem to dominate the scene. In Jago, hands and *nāgas* may be present, and in both temples all sign of the *makara* has disappeared. Besides the introduction of some Indian foliage designs already mentioned, there is at the same time an evident liking for recalcitrant spirals as well as broken motifs, all applied inharmoniously without relation to architectural form.

It is in the style of the bas-reliefs of Jago that we get an indication as to the extent that the power of local genius has now developed; and this strikes us all the

¹ *ibid.*, p. 77.

² *ibid.*, p. 76.

more forcefully in that, so far as extant remains go, there has been no comparable series of reliefs in Indo-Javanese art since Lara-Jongrang. They are now well on the way to attainment of the Majapahit style, the significance of which we shall consider shortly; and they illustrate various Indo-Javanese poems of Tantric flavour.¹ The terrace basement seems definitely more emphasized than previously.

What was the character of the religious thought during the Singhasāri period? So far as the new influx of Tantric Buddhism is concerned, it no doubt only represented a strengthening of what had already long existed side by side with Śaivism in Java since at least the first half of the tenth century.² And there must have been a progressive syncretism of the two religions. Viṣṇuvardhana was buried at Jago with a statue representing him as a Bodhisattva, and elsewhere he was buried as Śiva. On the other hand in the Singhasāri temple Śaivism predominated. The *Nāgarakṛtāgama* mentions a temple of which the lower storey was dedicated to Śiva and the upper to Akṣobhya, and gives the impression that King Kṛtanagara, whose title was Śivabuddha, was honoured as an incarnation of Akṣobhya even during his lifetime, being consecrated as a Jina with the name of Śrīnānabajreśvara.³

According to this late Kālachakra or Vajrayāna Mahāyānism, there is an Adi-Buddha or primordial Buddha-God, from whom all other Buddhas are derived and one of which, especially Heruka, is chosen out for identification with the Adi-Buddha and given particular devotion by a sect.⁴ In its ritual it shared the same extravagances as did Tantric Hinduism, which was mainly the worship

¹ Krom, *Inleiding*, vol. ii, pp. 112-122.

² Krom, *Geschiedenis*, p. 220.

³ Elliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. iii, p. 168 f; Cœdès, *Les États*, p. 383; J. L. Moens, "Het Buddhisme op Java en Sumatra in zijn laatste Bloei-periode," *Tjds.*, vol. 64, 1924, p. 522.

⁴ Elliot, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 386 f.

of Śiva Bhairava, or rather the uniting with, or transformation of the worshipper into, the god by magical means, man being a microcosm corresponding to the macrocosm of the universe.¹ The two Tantric religions were evidently much confused both in Java and in contemporary India. Their ritual practices often consisted in overcoming the passions by exhausting them through indulgence in the *pañchamakāra* rites. In modern times in India, among Tantric sects "the celebration of the ritual takes place at midnight and is called *chakra* or circle. The proceedings begin by the devotees seating themselves in a circle and are said to terminate in an indiscriminate orgy."² At Singhasāri it is known that the Javanese king in his lifetime acted as (local) cult god within a consecrated circle of initiates. He then presided over rites which included the drinking of much palm wine within a consecrated building.³

Tantrism, we must remember, owed its growth in India to the resurgence there of ancient pre-Indian concepts. That is the reason why this new influx of influence from India was so readily assimilable to the Javanese, coming as it did at a time when their own pre-Indian resurgence was so definitely gaining ground.

No doubt the syncretic deities now worshipped had a rather specialized connotation for the Javanese in line with the developments already noted at Lara-Jongrang, and there is evidence for this in the fact that Surya images are among the commonest sculptures of the period.⁴ Yet this very partiality for Surya also indicates continuing closeness of Indian control. It suggests repression by the strengthened Indian influences of any local urge to view the whole pantheon as forms of an ancestral Sun, or to identify Śiva and Buddha with two ancestor brothers of the Bubukshah legend, in the

¹ *ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 190.

² *ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 284.

³ Blom, *op. cit.*, p. 124 f.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 161.

manner that ultimately supplanted Indian ideas of their origin.

It is especially on account of the quite Indian style and attributes of the deity sculpture,¹ even though representing kings and queens identified with them, a practice which if it existed in India was certainly much less frequent there, that we realize that we are still within the bounds of late Indian thought. We may conclude, as regards the developments of the Singhasāri period, that while local genius clearly continues to mould the new Indian influences to conform to the general direction of the Indo-Javanese evolution, the culture can at this stage still be interpreted in Indian terms.

(3) THE MAJAPAHIT PERIOD

At first sight the Majapahit civilization seems to stand quite apart from that of the previous periods. Now we find the actual resurgence of pre-Hindu cultures, instead of only the moulding of art and thought within the bounds of what still could, partly on account of the earlier fusion of Aryan and Dravidian and partly on account of the partial resurgence which by now had taken place in India, be interpreted as within the Indian fold.

The cult of non-Indian gods and ancestors now reigns supreme. Only those elements of Indian culture, mainly Tantric, which could in some way be made to serve the purpose of the local cult of the dead are retained. Of course even this limited borrowing led to new forms and original combinations, especially to much that was new in the field of literature, for the Majapahit civilization was not just a static resurgence, a fact which is equally evident in the art and drama of Bali. But it is this resurgent aspect of it that interests us here since, although much must be lost, it is from the resurgence

¹ *Ars Asiatica*, vol. viii, pls. xxv-xxviii.

that we may hope to find some information or confirmation as to the nature of the local genius that has been guiding the Indo-Javanese evolution hitherto.

It was Stutterheim who had the merit of first seeing that in this Majapahit civilization we had to deal essentially with a pre-Indian cultural resurgence and not with a degeneration of the Indian culture, as had previously been supposed by Bosch¹ and others. Decadence or deterioration may come to any art or culture in its later stages, but that is not the nature of the change with which we are concerned at this juncture. Stutterheim also, in company with Krom,² except for a short period during which he was misled as we have seen by the style of the Jalatunda reliefs, recognized that Javanization had been a gradual and, from its inception right to the end, a continuing process. I agree, but for the slight qualification that the process could not be represented as a regular curve, but would show a rise and fall to mark the impact of each succeeding wave of Indian influence, this naturally being most noticeable in the case of the relatively isolated "fifth" or late Mahāyānist wave.

At first I was inclined to suppose that the so strongly marked resurgence, apparently ushered in immediately with the Majapahit period, might be the result of a sudden and successful "nativistic" revolt having speeded up matters. But further study led me to believe that this is not likely to have been the case in view of the close attachment of King Kṛtarājasa, who founded Majapahit in A.D. 1292, to the Singhasāri dynasty. Again, I think it may be said of his portrait statue³ (he

¹ "A Hypothesis as to the Origin of Indo-Javanese Art," *Rupam*, No. 17, 1924, p. 38. Stutterheim had also seen, unlike Foucher and others, that the development of Post-Gandhāra art in India, in which the Greek loans were assimilated by the evolving Indian art, provided a close parallel to the growth of Majapahit culture. Cf. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The Scythian Period*, Leiden, 1949, pp. 90-3.

² *Inleiding*, vol. ii, p. 137 and p. 460.

³ Krom, *Inleiding*, pl. 65.

died in 1309) that for all its stiff frontality, it stands somewhat nearer to the Singhasāri style of image than does the typical Majapahit mortuary sculpture. The speeding up of the cultural resurgence, which does indeed seem to occur with the foundation of Majapahit, may therefore be put down to the final waning of Indian influence after the last short-lived effort of the monks from Nālandā.

With the reservation, therefore, that the process of evolution was at no time completely static, I shall now attempt to sketch the general characteristics of fourteenth century Majapahit civilization. This I shall do by drawing in the first place on the very important studies of Stutterheim,¹ with some clarification in the light of Mus' sometimes more profound researches. And then I shall consider some amplifications or proposed modifications put forward by other scholars.

Only those Indian forms of expression which tend to give precision to local concepts are now utilized. There is no question of acceptance of a total Indian pattern (with some rejection of traits and moulding by local genius) as has hitherto been the case. The gods, and the ancestors identified with them, especially the Sun who obscures the basic Earth God conception of the chief deity, are essentially pre-Indian. They were given Sanskrit names, that is to say embellished by identification with some Hindu deity, above all Śiva who was the Sun, and Śrī the Earth Mother (compare Babylonian Ishtar), though they had nothing else in common with the Hindu deity.

Such an ancestor god could be contacted by priestly ritual in order that his magic power might be brought to bear on material conditions, for the benefit of the realm. This could be done, as we have already seen was

¹ "Oud Javaansche Kunst," *Bijdragen*, vol. lxxix, 1923; "Oost-Javaansche Kunst," *Djawa*, vol. vii, 1927, pp. 177-195; "The Meaning of the Hindu-Javanese Candi," *JAOS*, vol. li, pt. 1, 1931; *Indian Influences in Old-Balinese Art*, 1935.

the case in Bali, in a realm temple or *panataran*, in fact in *the* Panataran,¹ which was the realm temple of Majapahit. Here, on analogy with the modern Balinese temple, which helps to explain the function of some of its components, we may suppose that state feasts were celebrated and gods could be contacted by priestly ritual, probably more in their capacity of landlords than as ancestors.

Situated perhaps on the site of an earlier Śiva temple called Palah (founded in 1197), the temple of Panataran consists of a number of shrines built at intervals during the fourteenth century. But a bathing tank dated 1415, and another building as late as 1454, show that its use and continued embellishment went on well into the following century. The main structure was built about A.D. 1330. The fact that it is set at the rear of the enclosure and approached through several courtyards irregularly dotted with the other shrines, is a point of striking contrast with the symmetrically arranged Central Javanese temple complexes. This reminded Stutterheim of the similar arrangement of ancient Egyptian temples.

While in modern Balinese temples the actual shrines in which the gods are contacted are mainly wooden structures, with a number of superimposed roofs and known as Merus (hence symbolical of the cosmic mountain home of the gods), at Panataran the Javanese used the Indian temple form. This is indeed quite a logical utilization, in view of what we have said earlier about the Indian temple having been a developed mountain symbol. To this Majapahit architecture we shall shortly return. But first we must deal with certain features more special to Panataran, and try to define its function a little more precisely.

¹ Krom, *Inleiding*, vol. ii, pp. 245-283, pls. 78-87; M. E. Lulius van Goor, "Notice sur les ruines de Panataran," *Etudes Asiatiques*, vol. ii, pp. 375-384, illus.

The most striking feature of the main structure is its triple terraced basement, which is so developed that we can see that its relatively small shrine (now ruined) could never have been a very conspicuous part of the whole monument. Javanese thought on what was appropriate in temple architecture was now perfectly free to express itself primarily in terms of a stepped pyramid, if and when it so desired. In modern Balinese temples, at least, the idea was carried still further in the pyramidal *padmāsana*, or Sun thrones, placed on the topmost terraces.

The terraced basement of this Panataran main shrine is famous for its bas-reliefs. They are in flat low relief, with every vacant space filled, and though animated they show a queer unnatural stylization. In this respect they are as unlike the naturalistic Central Javanese reliefs as they are like, in dress and bearing, the *wayang* puppets of the modern Javanese theatre, the latter so well known as to make further description superfluous. Heine-Geldern has compared these reliefs to the stylized figures of the Dong-So'n drum processions of death,¹ and I think he has been right in so doing. It seems to me that, since Jago, we have seen the Dong-So'n element in local genius at work in Javanese reliefs, and that now the technique has been given fresh point with the resurgence of the pre-Indian culture generally.

If this is so there is some force in Stutterheim's view that in their unnatural, not merely stylized appearance, the Panataran relief figures conform not only to Javanese but to world (i.e. including Dong-So'n and more ancient Asiatic) ideas of what is appropriate to ghostly personages, and of the spirit world which the Javanese felt at the same time was real and close to their own. The flames, not clouds as was previously supposed, depicted as continually issuing from their bodies are symbolic, in Stutterheim's view, of their magic power,

¹ "Vorgeschichtliche . . .," p. 88 f.

so important to the living in its ability to renew the life of the realm.

While the main temple terraces are decorated with series of reliefs from the Rāmāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇāyaṇa (the Bubukshah legend is shown on another sanctuary), they do not form an epic whole, but consist of scenes chosen for their dramatic value, aligned to local legend, the heroes being identified with the ancestor gods. Further, the reliefs were not conceived as leading the initiated up to higher planes of mysticism, not as introducing the devotee, that is to say, but as accompanying the ancestors and giving the temple a semblance of their spirit home during their stay. For it has to be remembered that, as in modern Balinese temples, the Javanese temple was conceived, not as a dwelling, but as a temporary lodging for the gods where they might be conveniently approached.

The exuberant decoration of Panataran and other Majapahit temples¹ exhibits in stronger measure than previously the twin tendency we have already noted in East Javanese temples: On the one hand there is a replacement of foliage designs based on recalcitrant spirals by actual spirals and meander forms (Dong-So'n); on the other hand there is a trend towards the breaking up of complex motifs and a liking for medallions (Older Megalithic). Krom noted the former tendency, putting it down however to Chinese influence,² by which presumably he meant a recent borrowing.

Similarly Mlle. J. Auboyer³ speaks of Chinese influence in the Panataran bas-reliefs, but states that it is exclusively in perspective and other matters of technique, the Javanese having retained their own direct observation of the objects around them, without borrowing Chinese motifs. This, in my opinion, may mean, therefore,

¹ e.g. Krom, *Inleiding*, pl. 72.

² *Inleiding*, vol. ii, p. 256.

³ "L'Influence Chinoise dans la Sculpture de l'Insulinde," *RAA*, vol. ix, No. 4.

not so much a borrowing, but rather a strengthening of the Han element in the genius. But actual Han motifs had not survived and could not consequently come to the fore in the same way as more basic cultural patterns.

Here we may mention that very characteristic weapon of the period we are now considering, the Keris Majapahit. This is believed by Heine-Geldern¹ to be a development of a Dong-So'n type of dagger found in Tonkin and Annam. It thus forms an interesting parallel to the Khmer *phgak* which, as I have suggested in a previous chapter, may be rooted in the Older Megalithic culture.

We know almost nothing for certain of the ritual that was practised at Panataran; and it would be unwise to go far on the analogy of the ritual of the modern Balinese village temples, which combine the function of realm and ancestor temple on a local scale, as Majapahit village temples also probably did. But we may suppose that already in Majapahit, as in modern Bali, Buddhism and Śaivism had become merely sects of a local religion, and that Tantric observances were used entirely with the object of reinforcing local magic. Of such observances the witch dances and black magic of modern Bali are a relic, and so is the demoniacal character of much of its art. Naturally we may suppose that this Tantrism, being so largely concerned with ritual for the release of the soul, was particularly useful as a handmaid of the special Majapahit cult of the dead. "Garuḍa, Bhīma, and Hanuman were the most popular initiators because they were endowed both with demoniacal characteristics and with good nature; they had thus power to chase away evil spirits while at the same time they were well disposed to men."²

¹ "Ueber Kris-Griffe und ihre mythischen Grundlagen," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, vol. xviii, pp. 260-3.

² F. M. Schnitzger, "Les Terrasses Mégalithiques de Java," *R.A.A.*, vol. xiii, p. 113.

According to this cult, the dead Javanese king was supposed to have become one with the Sun ancestor, in the garb of some Hindu deity, especially Śiva; and Hindu ritual for attaining such union with the deity was naturally well adapted to the purpose of clarifying and defining the vague local god. It was, as will be realized from what has already been said on the subject more generally, of the utmost importance that contact should be maintained with the dead king. Having become merged in the deity the dead king would be able to see that the divine power was brought to bear for the good of the state, especially in times of trouble. To this end his ashes were buried in a stone casket beneath a sanctuary having very much the form, though not the function, of an Indian temple, or rather of its Indo-Javanese architectural derivative.

Stutterheim considered, on good grounds, that the Javanese were here utilizing the Indian temple form purely in its original sense as a Meru or cosmic mountain symbol to which the god, as in the realm temple, but now in a more personal manner, could be brought conveniently near to the capital. This was a great improvement on having to go and seek him out in his mountain home where, it will be remembered, the medieval Balinese had buried their kings in accordance with earlier concepts. In giving the Meru symbol full structural representation, in a manner which, as we have seen, the Balinese could never bring themselves to do, the Majapahit Javanese could escape the inconvenience and delay of having to make such frequent mountain pilgrimages. Moreover, as the structure *was* the cosmos, they need not even place it on a stepped pyramidal basement as they did in the case of the main realm temple at Panataran. At the same time it is interesting to note that, as Stutterheim has pointed out,¹ the Javanese of the resurgence could not entirely bring

¹ *Bijdragen*, vol. xc, pp. 293-7.

themselves to break away from deep-seated notions. They built their burial sanctuaries not in the city (their absence from the capital of Majapahit had seemed to other observers so puzzling), but some considerable distance away, and always towards the mountains.

This class of Majapahit shrine was called the *chandi*, a word that was probably derived from *chandiḡrha* = House of the Goddess of Death. Although the word is in modern times applied indiscriminately to any Javanese temple, even to the Barabudur, in order to avoid misunderstanding I have used it throughout in what appears to have been its original sense, a purely tomb-temple. This apparently did not exist in Indo-Javanese culture prior to the Majapahit period, although, as we have seen, temples were previously increasingly used as burial places. Architecturally its outstanding peculiarities, which it shares with individual sanctuaries at Panataran, are an accentuation of features that had already suggested themselves in earlier East Javanese architecture. These include a tendency to pyramidal simplification of the superstructure, and a constriction of the temple body. The former may have resulted partly from a desire for a form in keeping with the simpler pre-Hindu cosmology. The latter could result from the strengthened action of the Han element; but Stutterheim thought, paradoxically as it may seem, that it was a device to focus attention on the most important part of the sanctuary.

Inside the *chandi*, and above the royal ashes, but probably originally in front of the building, on the analogy of what we have seen to have been the practice in medieval Bali, there was set up a portrait statue of the dead king. We shall return to this later. But the point that I wish to make here is that in the *chandi* itself we have a cosmic symbol, borrowing the form of the Indian Meru, as a convenient miniature representation of the earlier Asiatic home of the gods, within which

was placed a portrait statue, in the garb of a Hindu deity. Just as a *liṅga* might be an acceptable improvement on the menhir, so at this particular period of the resurgence the Hindu god-like statue provided an improvement on the primitive ancestor image or skull. The object was, as Stutterheim was the first to see, to concentrate within a carefully delimited space, the powerful undefined local god where, through the king's image and ash, he could be contacted and made to work for the public good.

By far the most interesting feature of the *chandi*, from our point of view, is the continued evolution of the *kāla-makara* over the doorway, or rather of the emblem which, through cultural resurgence, had now taken its place. In his remarkable study of this evolution, to which I have already referred,¹ Stutterheim considered this motif as it appears in the *chandi*, in conjunction with certain adjuncts of the shadow play which appear to have survived down to modern times almost unchanged from their Majapahit form.

On the hypothesis of a resurgence of some elements of Egyptian culture in the Majapahit kingdom, it would not be surprising to find the Horus emblem, consisting of sun disc, snakes, and wings, which was used in a similar way over Egyptian temple doors, now openly replacing the *kāla-makara* motif. Indeed we have seen that the East Javanese evolution has already been able to go some way towards this, in the rounding of the *kāla* head, and the replacement of the *makaras* by *nāgas*, though the latter is a usual substitution in the eastern zone. Such a complete change is practically what we do find, at least in certain *chandis* showing the completion of the process. Only, whereas the artist had a recent precedent for the position of rounded monster head and snakes, as fixed in the *kāla-makara* motif, he seems to have been in doubt as to the correct place for the wings which he knows should be associated with the

¹ "The Meaning of the Kāla-makara Ornament," loc. cit.

emblem, and is at last free to reintroduce. Accordingly at Chandi Sawentar¹ he places them almost surreptitiously beside the *nāga* balustrades; but in the early mosque of Sendang Duhur² he allows them to spread boldly from the gate sides.

In a modern Balinese *kāla* representation figured by Stutterheim,³ we find wings actually sprouting from the monster head itself. And that in the *kāla* head the artists of East Java certainly had the sun in mind is indicated by a stone fragment in the Madjakerta Museum in which the *kāla* head is reduced to a single eye.⁴ But perhaps the most striking indication of the significance and origin of the emblem as a whole is provided by a *wayang* of Śiva in the Batavia Museum.⁵ The god's identification with the Sun is here emphasized by the emblem over his head, consisting of a naturalistic sun face darting forth its rays. From it depend two large snakes, the wings, in this case provided with heads of *garuḍas* (as sun-birds) here finding a place adjacent to the bull Nandi. "It would seem beyond dispute," concludes Stutterheim,⁶ "that these three elements—the sun-eye, the snakes, and the wings—strongly remind one of that other motif, built up out of these same three elements, which was so widely spread in Egypt—namely the Horus symbol of Edfu."

In another article,⁷ Stutterheim made a detailed study of the *gunungan* or mountain piece which is always shown at the beginning of shadow plays. These, it should be remarked, though now purely an entertainment, were originally a means of contacting the ancestors. As a result of Stutterheim's searching analysis there seems little doubt that we have here a much more

¹ *ibid.*, fig. 6.

² *ibid.*, fig. 7.

³ *ibid.*, fig. 10.

⁴ *ibid.*, fig. 11.

⁵ *ibid.*, fig. 8.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 49.

⁷ "Oost Java en de Hemelberg," *Djawa*, vol. vi, 1926, pp. 333-349.

clearly emerged representation of the pre-Indian cosmic mountain than is the case with the *chandi*, in which the earlier ideas are still somewhat masked by the borrowing of the Hindu Meru.

In the *gunungan* it is the presence of a gateway (with fish on its roof representing the world sea) that reminds one of a *chandi* and hence of the Indian Meru; and this gateway with its fierce guardians on either side gives the impression of being merely introductory to the ancestral world itself. This is represented mainly by a big conventionalized World Tree, either appearing above the gateway, or, if this is absent, set on a throne or mountainous base.¹ In the centre of the Tree, at the junction of its main branches, there is a *kāla* head, sometimes reduced to a single eye and thus leaving little doubt that the Sun is intended. From it depend one or two *nāgas*, while wings spread from each side of the roof, or from the base of the Tree. In the branches of the Tree there are sometimes peacocks (sun-birds). A Sundanese *gunungan*² shows a very striking combination of one-eyed *kāla* head, *nāgas* and wings, the last mentioned, apparently through misunderstanding, having been provided with bird-heads.

Working independently and almost at the same time as Stutterheim, Walter Aichele³ came to very similar conclusions as did Stutterheim, i.e. as to the influence of Egyptian concepts in the *gunungan*, and he clarified one or two points which had baffled Stutterheim. This was notably the case in regard to the two quadrupeds which are invariably shown facing each other at the foot of the Tree. Although in Assyrian seals such animals or men are thus depicted facing the sacred Tree, he identifies them rather as "the bull of the east mountain" and

¹ For illustrations of *gunungans*, besides Stutterheim's last mentioned article, see Bosch, *De Gouden Kiem*, 1948, pls. 59-61.

² Stutterheim, "The Meaning . . ." fig. 9.

³ "Altjavanische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Wunschbaumes," in *Festschrift Meinhoff*, Hamburg, 1927. Dutch trans. in *Djawa*, 1928.

"the lion of the west mountain" of Egyptian mythology. He concludes that it is in Egyptian conceptions rather than in Assyrian or Babylonian ones that we seem to be able to find light on the origin of the Javanese *gunungan*.

That diffusion is likely to be the cause of these resemblances is a proposition that may be more readily acceptable to-day than when Stutterheim wrote, and indeed the sun-disc/snakes/wings combination suggests itself as being the almost ideal example of the arbitrary association of dissimilar elements that is most unlikely to have been arrived at independently. But in 1981 the scientific world was still reacting unfavourably against the immaturities of Elliot Smith and Perry. It causes no surprise, therefore, to find that such views as those we have just been considering were not to pass unchallenged. We shall now examine in some detail the very different interpretation of the *gunungan* that was offered by Dr. W. Rassers in his study of the origins of the Javanese theatre.¹

While not denying that there might be something in the views of Stutterheim and Aichele he finds them generally quite unsatisfactory. For Rassers the *gunungan* is a representation of a ceremonial men's house, in which totemistic rites were performed in honour of the ancestors and this ritual was the origin of the theatre. According to him there is no World Tree depicted on the *gunungan*. What we see is only the façade of the men's house built deep in the forest, with birds and other wild animals perching on the rustic structure. The *kāla* head is the head of *banaspati*, the protector of the initiation wood, the wings are those of the initiation god (represented as Garuḍa because he was the keeper of the *amṛita*, elixir of life), the snake is the being with knowledge of both good and evil, such as is found among many peoples, while the two quadrupeds facing one another are the

¹ "Over den Oorsprong van het Javaansche Tooneel," *Bijdragen*, vol. lxxxviii.

totems of the rival phratries, as totem animals were represented by wooden effigies on the men's houses. Furthermore, in the opinion of Rassers, the *chandi* is simply the evolved men's house which has been enriched by taking on some features of the Indian temple, and is placed at the rear of its enclosure as the men's house was hidden deep in the forest. What Stutterheim takes for flames of magic power in the bas-reliefs, Rassers takes for mountains, and he regards the *rākṣasas*, *kālas*, and other monsters also depicted on the reliefs, not as peopling a spirit world, but as denizens of the forest.

It is an ingenious theory, but does it stand the test of probability? Are a local protective deity of the initiation wood an initiation god and an all-knowing serpent, really a more convincing interpretation of the *origin* of that complex world-travelled motif the disc/wings/snakes than is the Horus emblem? And why, if the former interpretation be correct, is the so-called *bana-spati* head, even in the *gunungan* chosen for illustration by Rassers, represented by a single eye? How is it, moreover, that while in this *gunungan*, the vegetation might be said to represent what he suggests it does, there are many others which leave no doubt that a World Tree is intended, shown standing or growing on a throne or Cosmic Mountain. If even more decisive evidence on this point were needed, there is the example of a Tree standing on what appears to be a winged portal, carved in relief on the wall of the early mosque Sendang Duhur.¹ That it is indeed the World Tree, as Stutterheim recognized, is proved by the fact that it is shown wreathed in clouds. Again, Dr. A. Steinmann, in a more recent study² has shown clearly enough that the World Tree depicted in connection with the ship of the dead in Sumatran and Dayak designs is

¹ "The Meaning . . .," fig. 7.

² "Les Tissus à Jonques du Sud de Sumatra," *RAA*, vol. xi, 1937.

indeed the much travelled Cosmic Tree and not some local invention.

Stutterheim himself, considering that the shadow play was originally a means of getting in touch with royal ancestors, realized that there is a definite element of initiation in the practice of placing the *gunungan* before the screen at the beginning of a play. But it is this very element of initiation, so stressed by Rassers, that affords a further refutation of his theory on more general grounds. For Hocart has shown, in a work which should have been available to Rassers,¹ that initiation rites are derived from rites of kingly installation through a popularization of customs that is going on incessantly and to which royal ritual is particularly exposed. In the case of the *gunungan*, therefore, I think that we must decide in favour of an explanation that sees the origin in ancient royal forms, descending later to the use of the proletariat, rather than of one which looks for origins in popular folklore.

It is true that the Javanese themselves offer, so far as I am aware, no explanation for the *gunungan* as a whole. But part of the mistakes of Rassers, shorn of unreliable anthropological analogies, is obviously due to accepting as evidence for origins of certain elements of the *gunungan*, the explanatory myths of Javanese folklore. This type of error is even better illustrated in a much less ingeniously presented article that appeared, no doubt as part of the same anti-diffusionist reaction, in the same year.² Here we are asked to believe that every feature of the *gunungan* is pure local invention. One example may suffice to show the calibre of the argument; We are told that the *kāla* head is *banaspati* "whose indigenous nature is very clearly shown in the literature".³ We are more convinced with Stutterheim's

¹ A. M. Hocart, *Kingship*, London, 1927, pp. 155-9.

² K. A. H. Hidding, "De Beteekenis van de Kekajon," *Tijd.*, vol. lxxi, 1931, esp. pp. 686-9.

³ *ibid.*, p. 687.

view that *banaspati* (Skt. "lord of the woods"), with his protruding tongue and flames denoting magical power, is a result of Tantric influence lending to the Sun of East Java its demoniacal character and causing it to be represented in many a folk tale as a fearsome monster.¹

I do not doubt that a critical analysis of Old Javanese literature might bring to light traces of pre-Indian conceptions of great interest. Indeed I have accepted as a valuable contribution in this direction Stutterheim's analysis of the cosmology of the *Tantu Pangellaran*. But it would be necessary to be constantly on one's guard, as he was, against those twin pitfalls, late Tantric influences and Javanese explanatory myths, which naturally cannot be relied upon for evidence as to origins.

Personally I cannot believe in the independent origin of the "Horus emblem"—coupled with sun-worship as it is—in Java. And since it is not characteristic of the Older Megalithic,² from where else can it have come but Egypt? As it is impossible in the present state of our knowledge of protohistory to prove that it was imported from Egypt and by sea, we must of course keep our minds open to any alternative possibilities.

A purely Indian origin, as apart from any influence of Indian solar sects that it may have absorbed, is in my opinion excluded by the increase of the solar worship as Indian influences decline, and the fact that this sun-worship seems central not merely subsidiary, to later Javanese thought, as are the Tantric practices that were adopted. Again, no comparable development can be traced elsewhere in Greater India. Moreover sun-worship

¹ "The Meaning . . .," pp. 31 and 48.

² It is interesting to note that in Khmer art, which I hope to show is Older Megalithic guided, in the Bakheng style lintel, the *nāga* which is momentarily substituted for the *makara* in the *kāla-makara* motif (borrowed from Java) is soon replaced by a foliage volute, showing that *nāga* and *kāla* head had no deep association in the Khmer mind.

by itself might be of no moment, but coupled with this non-Indian "Horus emblem" it seems to be very significant.

In Dong-So'n derived motifs, as on Sumba textiles and Batak and Dayak spirit boats, we certainly find the widely travelled World Tree, often with sun and moon on either side of it. But these were connected with the cult of the dead, not with sun-worship. Moreover, if the complex had belonged to the Dong-So'n civilization it almost certainly would have revealed itself as clearly in the Cham evolution (where there is no trace of it) as in the Indo-Javanese.

As a working hypothesis, therefore, I see at present no other course than to adopt the view of Stutterheim, at least in so far as the source of the sun-worship and Javanese "Horus emblem" are concerned. In that case it would not be easy to exclude the possibility that some other cultural traits, either from Egypt or Babylon, also reached Java by sea, as Stutterheim supposed. But where these are common to other parts of South-east Asia influenced by the Older Megalithic, I should be inclined to think it more likely that they were introduced by the land routes from the north in the manner we have discussed.

The images set up in the *chandis* were almost without exception portrait statues of kings—sometimes queens or ministers—and indeed very few images of the Hindu gods were made after the Singhasāri period. The dress and ornaments of these portrait statues are those of the Indian gods, but even more elaborate. However, that no actual Hindu deity was intended is indicated by a peculiar *mudrā* or by the unusual objects, such as flowers, held in the hands; or by a snail escaping from its shell, symbolical of the soul's escape, in place of the chank of Viṣṇu. Such mortuary sculpture appeared, as we have seen, centuries earlier in Bali. It commended itself as an improvement on the primitive ancestor

image still so widely used by non-Indianized Malayo-Polynesians as part of their common Older Megalithic heritage.¹ I am not therefore disposed to follow Stutterheim in seeing Egyptian influence in the Javanese mortuary sculpture. Some of the later figures, being almost closed masses, show themselves to be well on the way back to the menhir.

Contemporaneously with this stiff and artificial mortuary sculpture, and the stylized bas-reliefs, there appears at Majapahit a school of living naturalistic sculpture seemingly quite free from religious trammels. Examples vary from a humorously realistic old woman plate-bearer² to the beautiful head of a woman found at Majapahit,³ and the graceful smiling male and female figures, from Majakerta,⁴ which once acted as spouts in some bathing pool. Recognized by Krom as "true works of art, products of a living art, an art for the future", the most probable explanation appears to be that they represent the birth of a new, though unfortunately short-lived, school of purely naturalistic art.

(4) LATER MAJAPAHIT

In the fifteenth century there took place some illuminating new developments in the Majapahit cultural evolution. To understand their true nature it is important to remove certain possible misapprehensions as to the political situation. Thus Coedès, following Krom,⁵ supposed that the construction of the mountain terrace temples, with which we are about to deal, in their relatively inaccessible sites, was due to the "Hindu" Javanese being forced to retire into the mountains before the advance of Islam.⁶ But this does not accord with the actualities of the political situation, as outlined

¹ For examples see R. Moss, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

² Krom, *Inleiding*, pl. 108; *Ars Asiatica*, viii, pl. 49a.

³ "Archaeological Research in Java," *I. A. & L.*, vol. iii, pl. 5.

⁴ Krom, *Inleiding*, pl. 103; *Ars Asiatica*, viii, pl. 32.

⁵ *Geschiedenis*, p. 446; *Inleiding*, vol. ii, p. 386.

⁶ *Les États . . .*, p. 403.

by Krom himself.¹ As late as 1498 there was a Hindu-Javanese central power, with Moslems in occupation of the coastal districts at least in and around the harbours. These Moslems still recognized the old central power, and the Javanese suzerain still had access to the sea. He sent a last mission to China in 1499 and as late as 1509 Malacca feared attack by the king of Java. We have seen that the Javanese were embellishing the temple of Panataran as late as 1454, and they may well have continued to occupy Majapahit city as their capital long after that. Their building of mountain temples at this time therefore requires some explanation other than that they were driven from the lowlands by Moslem pressure.

As regards the nature of their culture, Stutterheim took the view that these mountain temples "bear witness to the ultimate penetration of Hinduistic conceptions, valid for centuries in the plains, into the still untouched mountain-regions of Java"²—a grafting, evidently, of the Indo-Javanese plains culture on to the surviving megalithic of the mountains, resulting in a fusion. Krom also spoke of a harmonious mixing of Hindu and megalithic cultures at these sites,³ Heine-Geldern accepted these views,⁴ and I at first supposed that we had to do with a marginal culture.⁵ But I have now come to the conclusion that, though in some cases megalithic terraces may have been utilized, what we have here is essentially a further stage in the Indo-Javanese evolution, a stage which called for the construction of mountain temples.

To consider first the remains of Mt. Penanggungan, where a series of about thirty such monuments have been discovered.⁶ Each monument has three or four

¹ *Geschiedenis*, p. 455.

² *Bull. of Raffles Mus.*, Series B, vol. i, No. 3, 1937, p. 147.

³ *Inleiding*, vol. ii, p. 387.

⁴ "Vorgeschichtliche . . .," p. 19 f.

⁵ *JRAS*, 1948, p. 18.

⁶ *ABIA*, 1936, pp. 25-30, pls. xi, xii; *OV*, 1937, pls. 32-41.

retaining walls forming terraces of diminishing width, with a central stairway, and giving the impression of being the façade of a stepped pyramid. The main axis, running through the centre of the stairway, always points to the summit of the mountain; and the sanctuaries, paralleling a megalithic-looking causeway, extend in one line running along a ridge on the western slope, from an elevation of nearly 1,000 to about 1,500 metres. The topmost terrace of each monument bears three altars, the largest in the middle, and often with carved backpiece reminiscent of the *padmāsana* of the modern Balinese temples, which Stutterheim compared to the megalithic ancestor seats of Nias, etc.²

The stonework of the terrace walls is decorated with carved designs in which spiral motifs and broken floral ones seem equally popular. There is also, and it seems particularly reminiscent of Older Megalithic styles, a simple ornament of inserted rhomboid or circular stones. Some of the monuments have also reliefs emphasizing episodes of the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, and Javanese legends. In several cases mortuary sculptures of kings, queens, and ministers, sometimes with the demoniacal features that indicate strong Tantric influence, were found. There are also miniature *chandis* for ash preservation. The monuments bear dates, ranging through the fifteenth century.

To explain these facts I propose the following hypothesis: They indicate a further resurgence of Older Megalithic cultural concepts which in East Java had been hitherto repressed by the predominance of the revived solar beliefs, as also by the continuing use of the Indian temple (Meru) form as the symbol of the cosmic mountain. Now we find re-established the terraced mountain temple, such as we have seen was in medieval Bali (at Tegi Koripan, and later Besakih) the counterpart of the city realm temple or *panataran*. In

² *Bijdragen*, vol. xcii, p. 185 n. 1.

this mountain temple the gods were contacted more particularly in their rôle of ancestors, and we have seen that Mount Penanggungan, though coming to be identified with the crown of Meru, was originally one of the Javanese ancestor homes.

With this development, it is not surprising to find mortuary sculpture on the terraces. We have seen that the Balinese preferred to bury their kings not in *chandis* but on mountain terraces, often in connection with their ancestral mountain temples, a very natural place for them. Now in the fifteenth century in Java there is very little evidence of continued *chandi* building in the plains. But a few examples, of which one is Selakelir on Penanggungan,¹ were actually built in the mountains, thus indicating the direction of the new trend. On the terraced monuments of Penanggungan the use of miniature *chandis* as ash containers probably denotes the reduced function and importance of the *chandi* form.

It was the presence of the portrait sculptures on these mountain terraces that led Stutterheim, rather inconsistently with his opinion as to the nature of this culture that we have just quoted, but I think more correctly, to suggest that the later Majapahit or post-Majapahit dynasties may have considered the mountain to be their ancestor heaven.²

On the western side of the Brantas valley, Mount Lawu did duty as another East Javanese ancestor home, though it is doubtful if it had ever enjoyed the sanctity of Penanggungan. On its western slope the well-known monument of Suku formerly consisted of a number of stone terraces of which only the four upper ones remain. Inscriptions show that it was built in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.³ On the upper terrace stands a stepped truncated pyramid about 19½ feet high.

¹ Krom, *Inleiding*, vol. ii, pp. 401-405; *Geschiedenis*, p. 446.

² *ABIA* for 1936, p. 29.

³ Krom, *Inleiding*, vol. ii, pp. 372-381, pl. 99; Schnitger, loc. cit., pp. 105-110.

The reliefs which decorate the Sukuh temple are strongly Tantric in import, being concerned with the release of the soul and its conveyance to heaven.¹ Most interesting is the fact that on top of the truncated pyramid there used to stand a six feet high *linga*,² with an inscription giving the year A.D. 1440, its summit surrounded by four spheres symbolizing the spread of the royal power to the four quarters of the kingdom. For though the cult of the *linga* had by this time become encrusted with many later Tantric concepts and rites concerning soul release,³ Schnitger⁴ is undoubtedly right in claiming that we have here a survival of the *devarāja* cult. This had been eclipsed in Java, at any rate in its earlier form, by solar and other concepts since the eighth century A.D. But it is here coming to the fore again with other elements of Older Megalithic culture and significance. Indeed it is really the pre-Hindu basis of the *devarāja* cult, rather than the *devarāja* cult itself, that we see reviving here. As Schnitger points out,⁵ the knife sculptured on the shaft of the *linga* is a feature that it has in common with the menhirs of some countries; and Stutterheim⁶ speaks of menhir-like stones inscribed "this is the *linga* of the ancestor", i.e. in Majapahit the connection with Śiva may be largely forgotten.

Near Sukuh there is another spot at which the mountain is similarly terraced to form the slightly later monument of Cheta.⁷ Originally there were fourteen terraces but seemingly no crowning pyramid. The images, including two of Bhīma, show a similar devotion to Tantrism as is the case at Sukuh. On the eighth

¹ Stutterheim, *Bull. of Raffles Mus.*, loc. cit.

² Schnitger, loc. cit., fig. E.

³ Stutterheim, loc. cit.

⁴ Schnitger, loc. cit., p. 106.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 106 n. l.

⁶ loc. cit., p. 148 n. l.

⁷ Krom, *Inleiding*, vol. ii, pp. 381-7; Schnitger, loc. cit., p. 111 f.

terrace¹ a sculptured bat bears a tortoise on its back from which originally rose a *linga* with spheres similar to the one at Sukuh. In front, on the same terrace within a stone triangle, are a number of sculptured animals, lizards, frogs, etc. Schnitger remarks that, while the bat is the emblem of Durga and the animals probably had a Tantric significance, they may all have had an earlier meaning (which had been revived by this time), and the frogs remind one of those on Dong-So'n drums.

There is another point of view from which this revival of what may still be termed the *devarāja* cult has still greater interest. We need not deny that in some cases purely megalithic terraces were utilized to save the builders trouble, or even that there was a certain amount of influence from surviving megalithic cultures in the mountains. But this reappearance of the *devarāja* cult in early form, after it had so long been repressed, supports my contention, as against previous writers who have seen only a mingling of cultures, that in these mountain temples we have among the last "Hindu" rulers of non-coastal Java, what is *essentially* a resurgence of the Older Megalithic culture.

As compared with conditions in Bali, this extreme resurgence was probably accelerated by the departure of so many of the upper class Javanese to take refuge in Bali. But for the general spread of Islam, the ultimate degree of resurgence to which Javanese culture would probably have reached at the present day is exemplified by Stutterheim's curious discovery of "A 'Neo-Megalith' in Old Batavia".² This, to use his phrase, graphically illustrates the manner in which "prehistory, as it were, stands ready to supplant history". It is rather surprising, therefore, that he did not recognize the East Java mountain temples as exhibiting an earlier stage in that process.

¹ Schnitger, loc. cit., fig. G.

² *Bull. of Raffles Mus.*, Series B, vol. i, No. 3, 1937.

CHAPTER VI

CHAMPA

According to our working hypothesis it is a Younger Megalithic/Dongsonian and Han constituted local genius that gives direction to the Cham evolution. Such a relatively simple and distinctive genius, especially as regards its basic Dong-So'n element, might be expected, if our hypothesis is well founded, to be easily demonstrable in action. This in fact proves to be the case, with the reservation that its working becomes obscured at times by a factor which was virtually absent in Java, namely the influence of other eastern zone cultures. This factor does not, however, give us serious trouble. The reason for this is that where we have such adequate material at our disposal throughout the history of an art, as is the case with that of the Chams, and where, moreover, the foreign influence stops short of extreme acculturation, it is impossible to be left in doubt as to the nature of the genius responsible for guiding the evolution as a whole.

With a local genius constituted as is that of the Chams, in which megalithic tendencies would be on a minor scale as compared with one in which the Older Megalithic was strong, we should certainly expect to find a relatively restricted use of stonework. We should expect no sign of a trend towards pyramid building or a marked return to the earliest Asiatic ideas on cosmology; and consequently no approach causeways bordered by figures, or by stone pillars reminiscent of Megalithic avenues, as we find in Cambodia. Absence of any supposed Egyptian element in the genius would be reflected in lack of any exceptional solar bias in religion and of associated solar motifs. On the other

hand, since Dong-So'n and Han cultures had much the same religious attitude as did the Older Megalithic, although the ritual practices came to be modified in various ways, we should expect to find quite as warm a welcome for the cult of Śiva and the royal *linga* as we did in Java. And we should not expect this to be obscured for centuries by a less basic solar conception of the deity.

These expectations are remarkably borne out in what we actually find. Though skilled workers in stone, the Chams favoured brick for their temples throughout the evolution, as did the Chinese. While Cham temples are usually set on elevations there is nothing comparable to the Khmer *phnom* tradition and, as we shall see, a developed pyramidal base or terrace construction enters into Cham architecture only during a period of intense Khmer influence and thereafter disappears. And we shall further see, in examining the evolution of Cham art, that in the development of design there is no propensity for motifs recalling those characteristic of Older Megalithic art.

Of the 128 more important inscriptions of Champa twenty-one are not addressed to any particular deity, three refer to Viṣṇu, five to Brahmā, while no less than ninety-two invoke Śiva.¹ Moreover we know that it was the cult of Śiva in the form of a royal *linga* that was the national Cham religion. First referred to as Bhadreśvara in fourth century Mi-So'n inscriptions, we know from later ones that this god was represented by a *linga*. This is the oldest known appearance of the royal *linga* cult in Greater India.²

This national cult became very firmly established in Champa. Its continuity was assured in a manner that is well illustrated by the double statue of Po Nraup, which

¹ P. Mus, "Cultes Indiens et indigènes au Champa," *BEFEO*, vol. xxxiii, pp. 367-410.

² Coedès, *Les États* . . . , p. 86.

Mus interprets as representing the god issuing from his *linga* and enveloping protectively the king who is his double.

“The ancient Cham kings gave their name to the *linga* they erected. The *linga* of Bhadravarman, at Mi-So'n, is called Bhadrēśvara. Later a successor of Bhadravarman, Śambhuvarman, restored the *linga*, giving it a composite name comprising his personal name and that of the first founder : it became Śambhu-Bhadrēśvara. Later again, Indravarman I venerated Indra-Bhadrēśvara. The meaning of these names is easily discovered. The king is Śiva visible in this world, but not the absolute Śiva : he is a Śiva specified for the use of the kingdom. It is natural that the name characterizing the king should also characterize the special manifestation of Śiva incarnated in the king. This granted, how does the dynastic succession present itself? We have defined the union of the ancestor and the god in a specified god, as constituting the religious symbol of a bond uniting the group to its sacred earth. The kings, successors of the dynastic ancestor, cannot but personify renewals of the agreement ; the bond-made god subsists, and is always called, allegorically, Bhadrēśvara. But Śambhuvarman, next to this mystic signature, adds his own, in consecrating a Śambhu-Bhadrēśvara. He himself becomes Śiva, but with a power derived from that of Śiva-Bhadravarman. The names of the *lingas* register these identifications by reflection. The successive kings are thus the doubles of the dynastic ancestor who was originally none other than the god issued from the *linga* or sacred stone. And so the image of Po Nraup, illuminated by the epigraphy of Mi-So'n, takes his turn. God and king at once, father and god to his successor, the personage issued from the stone repeats himself in his own lap : the bond is maintained.”¹

¹ Mus, loc. cit., p. 407 f., and fig. 33.

I shall return to significant later Cham religious developments at the end of this chapter. I now propose to make an analysis of the Cham art evolution from the point of view of determining the nature of the genius that did in fact guide it.¹ As a firm basis for this undertaking we are fortunate, as I said in the Introduction, in having at our disposal the new chronology and elucidation of the styles which result from M. Stern's important study of Cham art.² This entirely replaces the chronology of M. H. Parmentier which went astray through reliance on frequently misplaced inscriptions, although it in no way diminishes our continued indebtedness to the latter's work as an indispensable source of careful descriptive material.³

M. Stern's main styles and their dating are as follows :—

Early Style : probably eighth century A.D.

Prāsāt Damrei Krap (Cham temple in Khmer territory) : slightly before A.D. 802.

Hoa-lai Style : first half of ninth century.

Đông-dzu'o'ng Style : second half of ninth century, probably continuing into tenth century.

Mi-So'n A-1 Style : Probably beginning of tenth century, continuing to beginning of eleventh century.

Transition to Binh-dinh Style : twelfth century to early part of thirteenth.

Late Style : late thirteenth to seventeenth century.

It will be understood from the above that, as in Java, no buildings survive that can be dated prior to the eighth century. These are still very close to Indian,

¹ This analysis is based on that which I read as a paper at the 21st International Congress of Orientalists at Paris, and which was subsequently published as "The Dong-So'n Genius and the Evolution of Cham Art," *JRAS*, Pts. 1 and 2, 1949 ; but it has been modified in some important particulars.

² *L'Art du Champa*, Paris, 1942.

³ *Inventaire descriptif des Monuments Cams le l'Annam*, Paris, 1909-1918 (hereafter abbreviated *IC*).

probably largely Gupta, prototypes, but the extant remains are fragmentary.¹

As has been mentioned in the Introduction, we have no reason to suppose that the impact of the various waves of Indian influence, though very widespread, was uniform throughout Greater India. Consequently we cannot assume that each art started with the same Indian capital, either qualitatively or quantitatively. Take a specific foliage motif, which we shall see to be of critical importance on account of its very different handling by the Chams and Khmers, the rather complicated "scroll with recurved volutes". It is rather rare in early Indian art (it occurs at Bhumara),² and so there is no reason for surprise that, while it is known in eighth century Indo-Javanese and Pre-Angkorian Khmer art, it does not occur in the earliest art of the Chams. Had the Indians brought it to Champa, it could hardly have failed to become the vogue there, as it did in Java; for a foliage motif so obviously cognate to the Dong-So'n spirals would surely have made instant appeal.

Nevertheless the Chams, though denied the scroll with recurved volutes by their particular Indian gurus, seem to have done their utmost to put a curving effect into those Indian motifs they did receive. M. Stern, without suggesting any reason, recognized this when, in noting that the Chams eventually received the scroll with recurved volutes from Java early in the tenth century, he says "*l'évolution avait déjà amené à des formes assez analogues, bien que traitées tout différemment*".³

This Cham tendency to put a curving or waved effect into the Indian decorative motifs can be seen as arches, pilasters, and friezes develop from the virtually Indian forms of the eighth century through Hoa-lai and Đông-dzu'o'ng styles of the ninth and early part of the tenth

¹ In the Buddhist monastery of Đông-dzu'o'ng (ninth c.), similarity of the lay-out to the Paharpur site suggests Pāla influence.

² *MAI*, No. 16, pls. iva and b, and viic.

³ Stern, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

century, the latter being the style in which local genius attains its greatest activity.¹

In the Cham Early Style we find an Indian type arch,² ornamented with flowers, though when it ends in *makaras* these turn outwards, perhaps owing to the Han element in the Cham genius. In the Hoa-lai Style this early type of arch changes (through the intermediary of Pr. Damrei Krap)³ to a unique type of opening with undulating edges, the space between the edges being filled with parallel undulating foliage stems ending here and there in volutes.⁴ It is not this invasion of foliage, which happens also in Pre-Angkorian Khmer art as Indian control slackens, but the *undulating* character of the decoration and opening that is significant here. In the Đông-dzu'o'ng Style, apart from a development of the ends of the outer stems into five big floral motifs, the main difference is the cutting up of the leaves of the parallel stems into little hooks.⁵ This gives a characteristic "vermiculated" appearance of overcrowded tortuosity and prolific vitality very different from the classic plainness of early Cham art.

The pilaster decoration shows a well-marked evolution from the Indian lozenge and flower motif of the Early Style,⁶ by way of a stem with leaves on each side evidently derived from this, to an undulating stem, often divided, which is already established in the Hoa-lai Style.⁷ And in the Đông-dzu'o'ng Style it is this undulating motif that develops most significantly. Its leaves are broken into vermiculated hooks which curl into right and left volutes in such⁸ manner that through

¹ For convenience, in the following comparisons, I refer where possible to both Stern's and Parmentier's books.

² Stern, pl. 22; *IC*, i, figs. 90 bis, 93.

³ Stern, pl. 23.

⁴ Stern, pl. 24; *IC*, i, fig. 21.

⁵ Stern, pl. 27; *IC*, ii, fig. 41.

⁶ Stern, pls. 22a and b, 52; *IC*, i, fig. 90.

⁷ Stern, pl. 34 b; *IC*, pl. 145.

⁸ Stern, pl. 36a. Reproduced in *JRAS*, 1949, pl. 6.

internal evolution the Cham decoration here attains by a different route very much the same effect that Indo-Javanese art had reached more immediately, owing to its having received the Indian scroll with recurved volutes.

In the frieze the significant development, very special to the Chams, is the change that comes about in what were in the Early Style simple garlands.¹ In becoming *equally curved* above and below, they now resemble rather an undulating band or meander pattern so that their origin is lost. Already apparent in the Style of Hoa-lai² this metamorphosis is complete in the Đông-Dzu'o'ng Style.³

Here it may be mentioned that quite the most remarkable and characteristic feature of Cham architecture is the extreme accentuation of the angles of the upper stages of the temple towers, this being achieved mainly by that very special Cham architectural element the *pièce d'accent*.⁴ This tendency began quite early and continued with increasing emphasis throughout the evolution. It may probably be ascribed to the Han element in the genius. Another feature, which may not have made its appearance so early, is the tendency among those temples which have rectangular plans, such as Mi-So'n C-1, to modify the wagon roof into a saddle roof with projecting ridge. There is little doubt that this tendency is determined by the Dongsonian type of roof depicted on early Bronze Age drums and surviving to-day among the Toraja of Celebes and the Bataks. And, as we have seen (page 57), the Chams had that weapon of Dong-So'n origin, the keris.

We will now consider the sculpture corresponding to the decorative styles we have just discussed, that is to say, up to and including the Đông-dzu'o'ng Style. The

¹ Stern, pl. 22 b ; *IC*, p. 141 (H.I.).

² Stern, pl. 34b.

³ Stern, pl. 36a. Reproduced in *JRAS*, 1949, pl. 6.

⁴ Stern, pls. 7 and 8.

earliest Cham sculpture has been termed by M. Stern "revivified Gupta"¹ but I would be less certain that by this date, the eighth century, Cham sculpture had not also absorbed some Pallava influence. That at least seems to be indicated in the somewhat later Hoa-lai sculpture, by such features as the broad shoulders and some details of dress and ornament.² If the Chams did not at this stage innovate much, it is doubtless because of the strong control that we have seen the *śāstras* exercise on deity sculpture, though there is admirable naturalism of modelling wherever convention allows of it.

In the Đông-dzu'o'ng Style one encounters a profound change. Its sculpture, like its architectural ornament, is indeed recognized by Stern³ as the most original of all Cham art. Vermiculated ornaments and fantastic draperies, the latter somewhat reminiscent of East Javanese forms, may betoken participation of the Dongsonian spirit. Far more potent, however, is the Han element in the genius, as seen in the effective rendering of pronounced local ethnic characteristics, and a powerful dynamic naturalism, comparable to that which animated the Pasemah sculptures, but here of course modified in effect by application to the moulding of the higher Indian cultural data.⁴ It was probably this dynamism, already manifesting itself to some extent in the earliest Cham sculpture, that is responsible for its "revivified" appearance.

About the end of the ninth century there reached Champa a powerful wave of Indo-Javanese influence. Since it had reached Cambodia nearly a century earlier and since a certain amount of Khmer influence came at the same time, it is difficult to be sure to what extent

¹ Stern, p. 8, pls. 22, 52; *IC*, i, figs. 90, 93.

² Stern, pl. 58; *IC*, ii, fig. 69.

³ *loc. cit.*, p. 75.

⁴ Stern, pls. 55, 56; *IC*, i, figs. 111, 112; *Ars Asiatica*, v, pls. 16, 28, 29.

this Indo-Javanese influence came to Champa direct, as M. Stern appears to suppose, and to what extent it came via Cambodia, as it may well have done in part. Amounting in a sense to a new wave of Indian influence, one in which decorative motifs cognate to Dong-So'n designs had been much emphasized, this Indo-Javanese material proved acceptable and had a profound effect on the further development of Cham art.

Despite this ready acceptance, I should not be so confident about attributing such conscious initiative to the Chams as is M. Stern, when he says¹ that at the end of the Đông-dzu'o'ng period they were searching for new inspiration in foreign arts. Conscious initiative on the part of enlightened individuals was no doubt occasionally a factor in South-east Asia. But, judging by results, the rule would seem to be that, as foreign influence ebbed, and failing a new stimulus from without, a people tended to work increasingly in their own way, as we have already seen in the case of Java. We do not know what the Chams were thinking at this time. But their *behaviour* can hardly be regarded as other than a response to what appealed to them in the intense stimulus of the Indo-Javanese wave of influence.

The Cham art of the Mi-So'n A-1 Style has changed in a striking manner from what preceded it. However, since harmony is preserved because local genius is still selecting and governing the execution, evolution in the strict sense continues.

In the field of architectural ornament it is not surprising to find that the scroll with recurved volutes now has pride of place.² With it there appears to have been introduced one or two other typical Indo-Javanese motifs.³ Borrowings from Khmer art are, as one might expect, more restricted and are such that, like the curved

¹ *op. cit.*, pp. 50, 64.

² Stern, pl. 31; *IC*, ii, fig. 43, pl. 46.

³ Stern, pp. 67, 68.

pediment frame and several rather minor decorative motifs,¹ they do no violence to established Cham taste. *Nāgas* are infrequent because, owing to Chinese influence, their rôle as balustrades, etc., was probably taken over by dragons.² There is no sign of any attempt to introduce the Khmer pyramid-shrine at this period. The sculpture of the Mi-So'n A-1 Style has an elegance and grace which Stern regards as a "reaction against" the Đông-dzu'o'ng type.³ I would prefer to describe it as a *response* to the same stimuli that at this time so profoundly affected the architectural decoration, namely the Central Javanese. This influence is I think very evident in the soft yet lively modelling of the beautiful *apsaras*, and in certain details of her dress, and of the other figures on the famous Tra-kieu pedestal,⁴ as well as other sculptures from that site. The fine animal sculpture is also a feature of the period.

After a time of pronounced foreign influence such as this, when learning rather than modifying is the governing activity, we might expect that local genius would once more come to the fore, as it did in the Đông-dzu'o'ng Style, and as indeed is the general rule in a normal evolution. But in fact we find no such renewed activity of the local genius after the Mi-So'n A-1 period of strong foreign influence. Instead we get decadence. By the year A.D. 1000, that marks the start of the transition to the Style of Binh-dinh, we are at the beginning of that long period of decay that brings steady deterioration until the virtual end of Cham art in the seventeenth century. If we look to political history for a cause we find it in the events which led up to the first dismemberment of the Cham kingdom in A.D. 1069.

Obviously internal disruption and the misfortunes of war strike at the vitality of local genius rather than at

¹ Stern, p. 64.

² *Ars Asiatica*, iv, pls. 12 and 13.

³ Stern, p. 78.

⁴ Stern, pl. 59b; *Ars Asiatica*, iv, pl. 20; *R.A.A.*, vol. vi, pls. 20-24.

intensity of foreign influence. The latter is apt to be increased, though not in a manner likely to benefit true evolution. Thus while in its decline Cham art is marked primarily by those twin symptoms of exhaustion—simplification and reduplication—there seems to have been a great increase of Khmer influence in the twelfth century. This naturally reaches a peak in the period of Jayavarman VII's conquest and annexation (1190–1220).

This later Khmer influence is distinguishable from that of the Mi-So'n A-1 period by the failure of local genius to exercise power of selection. Thus in the Tours d'Ivoire *nāgas* and *garuḍas* seem as though literally copied from a Khmer temple.¹ The superstructure of the somewhat earlier Hu'ng-thanh temple closely resembles that of an Angkor Wat tower.² In the terraced basement of the Tours d'Argent (probably first half of the twelfth century) the Chams appear to be copying the Khmer pyramid-shrine which had no previous place in their tradition³; while in setting up a Śiva temple on the Mount Vugvan (? Mi-So'n group G), in the middle of the same century, the Chams were possibly imitating the Khmer *phnom* conception of the cosmic mountain. In the Thap-mam temple tower Claeys has shown that the Chams used insufficiently dried and hardened laterite for the basement, a material not previously used by them, and also adopted certain features of Khmer building technique. These were so imperfectly understood as to lead to the premature collapse of the structure.⁴

Side by side with signs of decadence, Khmer influence is very evident also in the Binh-dinh sculpture.⁵ One gets the impression that in accepting the Khmer pattern almost unchanged, the Chams were on the verge of

¹ Stern, pl. 48a; *IC*, pls. 47 and 173 B.

² Stern, pl. 20a; *IC*, i, fig. 49; ii, fig. 168.

³ Stern, p. 65 f.

⁴ *ABIA*, 1934, p. 25.

⁵ Stern, pls. 61, 62.

extreme acculturation. From this fate, however, subsequent political events saved them.

But if the Cham genius, by the end of the twelfth century, was certainly weakening, it was by no means in total abeyance. This could hardly be more clearly seen than by comparing a Cham lintel of the Binh-dinh period with a contemporary Khmer lintel of the second part of the Bayon Style. As Stern implies¹ the former is not just a copy of the Khmer lintel but is an exact translation of it into Cham terms. We get a determined effort to accentuate the spiral while the unacceptable triangles are discarded. Even the lines of the monster's jaw and brow are undulated, while his pointed crown is gone. If this Cham lintel is, as is agreed, essentially based on the Khmer lintel, how else can we explain its peculiar variation from the model except by supposing that the persistent Dong-So'n liking for spiral designs is making itself felt? This striking comparison² forms but one example of deep-rooted opposing trends in Cham and Khmer design to the full significance of which we shall return later.

In the later Cham art, manuscript ss, which are really very simplified spiral forms, often are the only decorative motif. In the Cham royal treasure,³ however, and in the painting of the Po Rome temple (probably seventeenth century)⁴ the liking for more complicated spiral designs is still apparent.

In the Late Style deity sculpture the images of gods and kings are progressively absorbed into the *linga*, in the manner traced by Mus,⁵ from which they had originally emerged. The seated Śiva of Yang Mum⁶ shows an early stage of the process since, while the legs

¹ op. cit., p. 65.

² Illustrated by me in *JRAS*, 1949, pl. 7.

³ *IC*, ii, fig. 42.

⁴ *IC*, ii, fig. 50.

⁵ "Cultes indiens . . .," *BEFEO*, vol. xxxiii, pp. 367-410.

⁶ Stern, pl. 63; Mus, loc. cit., pl. 12 B.

have disappeared into a triangular block, the very stylized image still has the attributes of the Hindu deity. A later example, such as the image of the Thuan-dong temple,¹ shows the lack of all identification with a Hindu deity. Finally we get the simple *kut* steles which have lost all semblance of human form.²

The present-day Chams, as we learn from the researches of Mus and others who have studied them, having forgotten the Hindu deities which during the period of Indianization had been accepted as an improved form of the deity of the place, now once more address their prayers to local legendary heroes. The principal one is Po Klaun Garai who has taken the place of Śiva, and this is part of a general return to degenerated pre-Indian religious concepts.³ This local deity is represented by any old Hindu statue, a *linga* or simply a stone. At the same time they sacrifice to the *kut* steles erected near the place where they have buried some of the bones of their ancestors. These *kut* are actually regarded as the deceased, who have become united with the local earth deity. There is thus a return to the forms of substitute body that were in use in pre-Indian times. But the lack of any tendency of the later Chams to reintroduce terraces and pyramids, in the manner of the Javanese, indicates the absence of any Older Megalithic element in the Cham civilization.

¹ Stern, pl. 63b.

² e.g. Stern, pl. 63c; Mus, loc. cit. figs 24-26.

³ A modern Cham MS. (IC, ii, fig. 144) contains an illustration of a bird-man curiously like those figured by Karlgren (loc. cit., pl. 17). Perhaps it implies a survival in Champa of the same type of cult that according to Goloubew seems to have survived among the Mu'o'ng and was apparently of Dong-So'n origin.

CAMBODIA

(1) FU-NAN AND THE START OF THE KHMER EVOLUTION

The effective Indianization of the core of the Fu-nan empire, approximating to most of the present-day Cambodia and Cochinchina, probably took place in the fourth century A.D., and is popularly associated with the coming of an Indian culture-bearer named Kaundinya. Certainly the evidence of the drum named Makalamau, as we have seen (page 54), and supposing that the drum did originate in Fu-nan, does not suggest any advanced degree of Indianization before that time, any more than was the case in Champa. We shall see in the next but one section that there is reason to believe, in connection with the cult of the *phnom*, that Indian acculturation in this core of the Fu-nan empire was not so extreme as was the case in the western vassal states of the empire, which seem to have included central Siam and much of the Malay Peninsula. If this is the case, then Fu-nan proper may legitimately be regarded culturally, as well as geographically, as belonging to the eastern zone. Its culture would then be rightly looked upon as constituting the beginning of the Khmer evolution. To adopt this view would only be to complete the chain of comprehension of the smooth unfolding of the Khmer cultural evolution which in all its main aspects was achieved by the painstaking researches of MM. Stern and Cœdès, and the late Mme de Coral Rémusat.

Direct evidence, in the shape of architecture or sculpture attributable with certainty to this period, in Fu-nan proper, is however lacking.¹ For the period of the

¹ Apart, that is, from the Oc Eo granite structures already mentioned, which appear to have a Megalithic basis.

first Khmer kingdom of Chen-la (seventh and eighth centuries A.D.) we have, on the other hand, a large series of brick sanctuaries.¹ If in some of these temples Pallava influence is most in evidence, in many others the characteristics of Gupta architecture dominate. This was first recognized by Coomaraswamy who spoke of the Sambor temples as "affording a substantial addition to our knowledge of late Gupta art"²; while he was the first to see the Bayang temple as cognate, especially in its decoration, to the late Gupta brick Lakṣmaṇa temple of Sirpur.³ Since during this period local genius had little opportunity to express itself, at least in the architecture of the sanctuary towers, we shall not need to consider these temples in detail here. We shall, however, revert in the Appendix to the special problem of the origin and development of Pre-Angkorian architecture.

(2) THE DEVARĀJA AND THE PYRAMID SHRINE

The building of so many brick sanctuaries during the seventh and eighth centuries might give the impression of a degree of satisfaction with the Indian temple as the adequate means of symbolizing the cosmos that I believe was far from being the case. I hope to be able to show that *at the same time* that the Khmers were accepting the Indian temple with little modification, there were already being developed, perhaps more definitely in Cambodia than anywhere else in Greater India, a type of religion and a form of cosmic symbol of very special character. These, though able to be interpreted in an orthodox Indian manner, were nevertheless expressive of deep-rooted pre-Indian convictions working through the medium of local genius. According to our

¹ H. Parmentier, *L'Art Khmer Primitif*, Paris, 1927.

² Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

³ *ibid.*, p. 93.

working hypothesis the constant feature in this local genius was the Older Megalithic.

The cult to which I refer is that of the *devarāja*, in its Khmer form. As we have already seen, on the basis of the researches of Mus, this is to be regarded as an Indian development of the Megalithic or Old Asiatic religion—the *linga* replacing the ancient menhir—which consequently had strong appeal for the megalithic peoples of Greater India. And, as we have already seen in Java and more especially in Champa, the peoples of the eastern zone, who did not undergo extreme acculturation to Indian forms, not only accepted this cult of the *devarāja* as preferable to other forms of Indian religion, but actually developed it in a manner and on a scale never attained in India. We shall postpone consideration of the special character of the cult as developed in Cambodia until I have shown, and it is a matter of the first importance, that it was not introduced from Java by Jayavarman II, who returned from a sojourn in that island in A.D. 802, but that it was deep-rooted in local traditions.

To prove the above proposition would not, however, be sufficient to show that the genius concerned in the special development of the *devarāja* cult in Cambodia was the Older Megalithic, for, as we have seen, this cult appealed equally to the Chams. Their pre-Indian religion was still basically little changed from that of the Older Megalithic, though their Younger Megalithic and Dong-So'n constituted genius no longer preserved the concept of the cosmic mountain or substitute body in the form of a stepped pyramid. We could prove the Older Megalithic basis of Khmer culture beyond all reasonable doubt, and thus establish a point that is crucial to my whole theory, if we were so fortunate as to be able to show the Indian *devarāja* cult, with its Meru conception of the cosmic mountain, in the very act of replacing in Cambodia the pre-Indian Older Megalithic cult of the

menhir and terraced mountain. This is indeed what I hope to do, and to that end I shall introduce some new and striking evidence.

It will probably be clearest if we start with the *devarāja* cult and its associated pyramid-shrine at the point at which their appearance in Cambodia has already been generally recognized. Then we can work back to establish beginnings in Cambodia. Having done that we shall have a sound basis from which to trace the working of local genius in guiding the subsequent evolution.

This first generally recognized point was the revival (for I shall show that it was not new to Cambodia) of the *devarāja* cult by Jayavarman II after 802, under the supervision of the Brahman Śivakaivalya. It was an act symbolic of the restoration of Cambodia's independence from Java, following the Śailendra pretensions over it; and it is this which led Stern originally to suggest that the *devarāja* cult and the pyramid-shrine had been introduced from Java.¹

It seems not unlikely that Ak Yom, the pyramid structure and *prāsāt* (sanctuary tower), built entirely in a style that cannot be later than the end of the eighth century A.D., and may be considerably earlier, had been used for the *devarāja* ritual at some time before Jayavarman re-established it at Mahendraparvata. But this is impossible of proof and, in view of the architectural evidence to be introduced below, it may well be held sufficient to disprove Stern's main contention if we refer to a recent reminder by Coëdès as to the early history of the *devarāja* cult in Cambodia.² He recalls that he had long before³ called attention to a mention of the *devarāja* in an inscription from Śambhupura

¹ "Le Temple-montagne khmer, le culte du *līṅga* et le *Devarāja*," *BEFEO*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 611-616.

² *Les États . . .*, p. 176, n. 8.

³ *Bull. Comm Arch. Indochine*, 1911, p. 48.

(Sambor-on-Mekong) which indicated that this god was already at the beginning of Jayavarman's reign being worshipped at this old city of Jayavarman's ancestors, thus tending to show that the cult had existed in Cambodia before the king returned from Java. This is important. But it is the question of the pyramid-shrine, not merely as regards establishing it as not an introduction from Java, but also as establishing the local basis of this and its associated megalithic cult, on to which Indian concepts were grafted, that is crucial.

The name Fu-nan is a Chinese rendering of the Khmer word *phnom*, by which the Chinese came to call the country because its king had the title *kurung bnam* "king of the mountain".¹ This mountain was the sacred mountain, symbol of the cosmic mountain, adjoining the capital city Ba Phnom.² Here, according to the *History of the Southern Ch'i*, "the custom of the country was to worship Maheśvara (Śiva). The god ceaselessly descends on the mount Mo-tan."³ From what has been said earlier it will be realized that this is clearly a reference to the contact that was maintained between heaven and the centre of the kingdom, through the medium of the *linga* of Śiva Giriśa, Śiva of the mountain, and the king. It is the evident stressing of this aspect of Indian religion, beyond what could be found in India itself, to the extent that it even gives its name to the kingdom, and in the light of subsequent developments, that leads me to believe that there never was any extreme Indianization in Fu-nan to the extent of the suppression of local genius. Consequently Fu-nan is to be regarded as the beginning of the Khmer cultural evolution, even though direct archæological evidence is lacking.

¹ Cœdès, *Les États* . . . , p. 68.

² *ibid.*, p. 69.

³ P. Pelliot, "Le Fou-nan", *BEFEO*, vol. ii, p. 69.

With reference to a period only a little later than the above, at any rate prior to A.D. 589, the *History of the Sui* speaks in very similar terms of religious practices at Bassac on the Middle Mekong, a city which was then still the capital of Chen-la: "Near the capital is a mountain called Ling-kia-po-p'o, at the summit of which is a temple always guarded by a thousand soldiers and consecrated to a spirit named P'o-to-li, to which they sacrifice men. Each year the king himself goes into the temple to make a human sacrifice during the night."¹

The human sacrifice might be purely of the imported Dravidian variety; and one cannot say whether head-hunting practices associated with the Older Megalithic had given local encouragement to it. It is when we examine the character of the archæological remains at the sanctuary of Wat Phu on this Lingaparvata mountain, that we come to what appears to be real evidence of Older Megalithic associations.

The exceptional character of Wat Phu among Khmer monuments could not be readily discerned from the plan published by Lajonquière²; but this has been fully brought out in Parmentier's panoramic sketch,³ and he himself was clearly alive to its peculiarities.⁴ In the first place it is the only large Khmer temple constructed on the flank of a dominating mountain, a fifty metre high cliff rising immediately behind the temple. Parmentier recognized that, in thus being constructed against the mountain side, it was radically different from the purely late twelfth century Prah Vihear temple constructed on the *crest* of a promontory, which bears some similarity to Wat Phu in respect of its long approach.

¹ *Ma Touan-lin*, from the French trans. of d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, p. 483.

² *Inventaire descriptif des Monuments du Cambodge*, vol. ii, fig. 25.

³ *L'Art Khmer Classique, Monuments du Quadrant Nord-est*, Paris, 1939, pl. xxix.

⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 212, 242.

Furthermore the core of the Wat Phu temple consists of a series of stone terraces constructed against the mountain side. This feature at once separates Wat Phu so sharply from ordinary Khmer temples and gives it a special significance of the greatest interest. For, if we disregard all the typically Khmer buildings and the palace below, mostly accretions of the twelfth century, what is left? A simple mountain terrace structure. This, being so different from anything known to later Khmer architecture, and so very reminiscent of megalithic sanctuaries, strongly suggests that here we find preserved what virtually amounts to the pre-Indian holy place on to which Hindu concepts were grafted about the fifth or sixth century A.D. I doubt if one could wish for much clearer evidence as to the character of the pre-Indian civilization of the Khmers.

The resemblance of this mountain terrace structure of Wat Phu to a typical megalithic terrace on the Yang plateau of Java is particularly striking (see frontispiece). And, despite the later Khmer modifications, the two will bear comparison even down to some points of detail. The later builders have done little more than possibly reface with laterite the existing megalithic terraces, approached as in Java by a median stairway, and replace by classical Khmer sanctuaries the primitive structures that the Javanese analogy leads us to suppose originally stood on the upper terrace. But there is more than that. In a grotto in the back wall of this upper terrace there gushes out from the rock a fountain which is still regarded as one of the most sacred springs in the land. Since at the Yang sanctuary the divine power manifested itself through a solfatara, however, a still closer analogy might be with the megalithic style burial place of Jalatunda in East Java. The comparison leads us to suppose that originally in Cambodia, as in Java, the water gushing from the sacred mountain to fertilize the fields below was looked upon as a symbolic marriage

between the ancestor local god, soon to become a local Śiva, and the bountiful earth mother.

Parmentier thought that the Liṅgaparvata mountain must have owed its special sanctity to the coincidence of its peak resembling a giant *liṅga*. This would in turn sanctify the water gushing from it, water which was probably led through a pipe ceaselessly to bathe the *liṅga* in the shrine on the terrace, a veritable relay of Śiva's divine essence and a good reason for the mountain having become a notable place of pilgrimage. All this is no doubt a true picture of the site's significance, once it had undergone Indianization. But, in view of what has been said above, it seems equally certain that what was later regarded as a giant *liṅga* was previously seen as a huge menhir, topping a cosmic mountain from which the life-giving stream gushed out.

Now to consider another point of detail: Each step of the median stairway of Wat Phu is bordered by round mortises, cut in the stone, a peculiarity which Parmentier suggests may have been connected with the support of ceremonial standards.¹ Possibly. But, as being peculiar to this particular Khmer temple, one cannot avoid seeing immediately the analogy to the menhirs bordering the median stairway of the megalithic shrine on the Yang plateau. And if these thus breathe the spirit of the megalithic avenue, still more do the rows of stone pillars which border the causeway of approach to this and several other Khmer temples, but are found in no other temples of Greater India or of India.²

Once the Older Megalithic origin of Wat Phu is recognized, the fame enjoyed by the Ba Phnom sacred mountain, from which Fu-nan derived its very name as a kingdom, becomes equally understandable. And so does the direction taken by the whole evolution of Khmer

¹ Parmentier, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

² Compare H. Marchal, *L'Architecture Comparée dans l'Inde et l'Extrême-Orient*, Paris, 1944, p. 169 and pl. xli with W. A. Prestre, *La Piste Inconnue*, Paris, 1946, plate facing p. 160 (below).

architecture. For the Khmers, unlike the Javanese with the *chandi*, never accepted the Indian sanctuary tower as a thoroughly adequate symbol of the cosmic mountain. Indeed they regarded it only as an adjunct, or as a manifestation of secondary importance. While they appreciated the Indian mythical elaboration of its details, what they wanted was a more realistic representation of the cosmic mountain than could be provided by buildings known to Indian architecture as Meru or Kailāsa, but which were in appearance only staged temples or domestic buildings.¹ It is thus that the Khmers developed a religion and a pyramid-shrine which, while remaining strictly within the framework of what could be interpreted as Indian, were far from being realized in that way and on that scale in India. Their peculiarities were due rather to the strength and nature of local genius.

Bhadreśvara, the name of the Śiva worshipped at Wat Phu, was the national deity of Chen-la.² This brings to mind the fact that the most ancient royal *liṅga* attested by inscriptions in Greater India was that worshipped at Mi-So'n in Champa under the same name.³ Consequently we may infer that the mountain Liṅga-parvata, together with the mountain of Ba Phnom, probably became the earliest cosmic mountain centres of the *devarāja* cult in Indochina—and they were actual mountains. When the Khmers moved their capital into the Great Lake region they might find a convenient hill which would serve as a symbol, when suitably aggrandized with stonework, as at Phnom Kulen and Phnom Bakheng, but more often not. Then, like the Sumerians of old when they came down from their earlier mountain home, they were under the necessity of constructing a model. In constantly elaborating this

¹ P. K. Acharya, *Architecture of Manasara*, Chaps. 21, 25, 27.

² Coedès, *Les États . . .*, p. 198.

³ *ibid.*, p. 86.

as the major element of their national architecture, the Khmers revealed the nature of the guiding force responsible for the whole trend of evolution.

To the elaboration of the pyramid-shrine all else, including the refinements of decoration, were subordinated. If one refers to Mme de Coral's tabular presentation of the evolution of the pyramid-shrine,¹ it will be seen that all is conditioned by the growth in size of the pyramid. Concentric galleries on the terraces are developed in answer to the need to be able to circumambulate such large structures in often rainy or intensely hot weather. The need to reach the main tower on the summit of the Angkor Wat pyramid, under such arduous climatic conditions, led to the invention of the cruciform galleries. The efforts made by the craftsmen to advance from disconnected galleries to complete ones, from inconveniently low ones to the lofty cloisters of Angkor Wat, though worthy goals in themselves, are really only subsidiary to the main theme.

Nevertheless these subsidiary developments are also of interest to us in so far as they reveal, as they do, some of the characteristics of local genius. As early as the style of Koh Ker (second quarter tenth century), and most strongly at Prah Vihear (mid eleventh century), local wood styles of construction impress themselves so strongly on stone architecture as to substitute hipped roofs and pointed gables for the usual rounded Indian type. Similar roofs are seen frequently in the wooden palaces depicted on the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat and the Bayon. The straight non-projecting roof ridges are in direct contrast to those of the common house type on the Javanese reliefs and also to the type of roof seen on certain Cham temples. We may confidently accept this as valuable evidence of the absence of a Dong-So'n element in the Khmer genius.

Exceptionally, palace roofs and, more frequently,

¹ *L'Art Khmer*, p. 41.

barge canopies, on the Angkor Wat and Bayon reliefs, show strongly curved acroteria which de Beylié¹ rightly recognized as contemporary borrowings from China. We are left in no doubt as to this since pre-Indian roof structures of the Khmers revealed their style already so clearly in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Incidentally, it may be remarked here that the overlapping or telescoped roofs, which are commonly seen on the palaces on the bas-reliefs, and on actual Khmer buildings, and which afterwards became such a feature of Thai temple architecture, are almost certainly of Indian origin. They are found also in modern Burmese and Sumatran wood architecture, and presumably were developed on the analogy of the roof reduplication of *prāsāda* or sanctuary tower.

The main Khmer theme, as I have said, is the glorification on an ever increasing scale of the pyramid-shrine; and this end is further served by a continually enhanced grandeur of plan and of total composition. So too, the advance from a single crowning *prāsāt* to a quincunx of towers is really conditioned by the improved carrying capacity of the enlarged pyramid, since the quincunx on a common basement, already perhaps representing the five peaks of Meru, was known in Pre-Angkorian times.²

The static character of the Khmer *prāsāt* almost throughout the history of Khmer architecture is enough to prove the subordinate role it had in Khmer eyes. Deciding at the beginning of the Angkorian period on the square plan and domed crown, rather than the rectangular plan and barrel roof that was equally favoured in Pre-Angkorian architecture, the Khmers here again made a decision that was dependent on the *prāsāt's* association with the all-important pyramid. And they subsequently did very little to change the

¹ *op. cit.*, pp. 100-104.

² H. Parmentier, *L'Art Khmer Primitif*, p. 64.

general appearance of the tower that had been bequeathed to them by their pre-Angkorian forebears, eighth or ninth century Pāla influences seemingly having no effect. At Angkor Wat alone did they try what to Western eyes seems a singularly happy experiment, that of curving the contour of the superstructure and so lightening the appearance of the whole vast design. It may have been the result of North Indian influences reaching Cambodia along with a temporary trend towards Vaiṣṇavism in the earlier part of the twelfth century, or rather of a Vaiṣṇava adaptation of the *devarāja* cult. Both made only a temporary appeal: A return to the standard type of sanctuary tower came quickly, to be accompanied in the case of the Bayon by an entirely new employment of this architectural form, and one which was functionally more in alignment with the underlying nature of Khmer thought.

This somewhat startling change in the *prāsāt* is only one of the innovations that mark out the Bayon as representing, not the *chef d'œuvre* that is Angkor Wat in Western eyes, but, judged by the criterion of originality of expression, the culmination of the Khmer evolution. While it remains within the bounds of what may still be interpreted in Indian terms, it is near the borderline of a resurgence, and, as we have seen in Java, no sharp borderline can be distinguished. Consequently it demands from us a more individual consideration, for there is a chance that it will yield some additional evidence bearing on our main inquiry. But, before we go on to this, it will be necessary to give a little further attention to the special characteristics of the Khmer form of the *devarāja* cult.

Our knowledge of this is largely due to the studies of M. Cœdès.¹ Just as may be presumed to have been the

¹ "Note sur l'Apothéose au Cambodge," *Bull. Comm. Arch. Indochine*, 1911, pp. 38-49; "La destination funéraire des Grands Monuments Khmers," *BEFEO*, vol. xl, pp. 315-343; *Pour Mieux Comprendre Angkor*, Paris, 1947; *Les États . . .*, pp. 171-8, 197-9, 204, etc.

case in Champa and in Java, we know from certain Khmer texts that the *devarāja* was the "essence of royalty" or the "subtle personality of the king". It was also, as in the other countries, believed to reside in a *liṅga* obtained by a priest from Śiva and ministered to by a privileged family of Brahmans. It is not certainly known whether the same *liṅga* was removed from capital to capital and remained thus the same for every reign, or whether the *liṅga* consecrated by each king at the beginning of his reign and receiving his name was regarded as the *devarāja*.¹ But there is certainly a close analogy between the main *liṅga* of Prè Rup, set up by King Rājendravarman in 961 with the name Rājendrabhadreśvara,² thus recalling the ancient Bhadreśvara of Wat Phu, and the usage that we have seen was followed in Champa. The ritual used by the Brahmans in the *devarāja* cult has been traced to Indian Tantrism on account of the names of the texts mentioned.

While up to the middle of the twelfth century the *devarāja* was always thus represented as a *liṅga*, with the temporary popularity of Vaiṣṇavism, coinciding with a contemporary movement in India, the *devarāja* came to be identified with Viṣṇu and was represented as a statue of that god. Subsequently, with the influx of late Mahāyāna Buddhism, the *devarāja* became *Lokeśvara*, a substitution not difficult of accomplishment in view of the general religious syncretism of the time. The image was represented as having the features of the king. Image or *liṅga* could be erected and animated by suitable ritual, even in the lifetime of the king concerned, so that he might make certain that continuity between the sacred essence of his ancestors and his successors would be maintained. This is a development of the ancient belief, as will be appreciated from what has been said in earlier chapters, that the essence of the local

¹ Coedès, *Les États* . . . , p. 204.

² *ibid.*, p. 198.

Devarāja
Culte
Indien

earth god (be he identified with Śiva, Viṣṇu, or Lokeśvara), contacted through priestly ritual, might continue to flow out for the benefit of the realm. And we have also seen that in the megalithic culture, monuments might be erected not only after the death of, but even during the lifetime of, the individual.

It may be added that through a process of popularization of this originally royal religion, comparable to the popularization which overtook the Osirian faith in ancient Egypt, princes, royal parents, and other relatives of the king, as well as priests, came to be represented in a similar way by portrait statues having the attributes of a particular deity or Bodhisattva. These seem to have been installed in shrines consisting of a single sanctuary tower. Alternatively they were placed in the subsidiary towers of the great pyramid-shrines (the *devarāja* occupying the central tower). As a result these huge structures became veritable pantheons of local and personal cults in addition to their main purpose.

In his first study of the *devarāja* cult Coedès said of it: "S'il procède d'idées purement indiennes, il a pris au Cambodge une extension que ses origines ne suffisent pas à expliquer complètement."¹ And in 1940, after a study of Stutterheim's work on the cult of the dead in Java and Bali, he expressed the same conviction in even more definite terms, this time stressing the pre-Indian civilization of the Khmers as being the cause of the modification of the Indian concepts: "Qu'il y ait eu au Cambodge un phénomène analogue, il paraît difficile d'en douter, et même dans les cas où l'Inde suffit à expliquer telle conception religieuse ou telle réalisation architecturale des anciens Khmers, il n'en reste pas moins que leur atavisme pré-indien donna à celles-ci une certaine couleur locale et conditionna le sens de l'évolution."²

¹ *Bull. Comm. Arch. Indochine*, 1911, p. 48.

² "La destination funéraire . . .," *BEFEO*, vol. xl, p. 341.

After a discussion with Przyluski extending over a number of years as to the exact function of what I have so far referred to by the architecturally descriptive term of pyramid-shrines, Coedès finally decided in favour of the appellation "temple and tomb". While agreeing with this I should be inclined to put the accent on the word temple in Cambodia whereas if I were speaking of the Majapahit *chandis* I should stress the word tomb. Mme de Coral¹ gives it as her opinion that in the latter part of the twelfth century many large Mahāyānist temple-monasteries on a level plan were built in addition to the pyramid-shrines of the *devarāja* cult, and Stern, basing himself on a remark of Prince Damrong, had previously expressed a similar view.² At any rate temples like Banteay Kdei and Prah Khan would seem to have been only secondarily connected with the cult of the dead. Like the temples of Singhasāri in Java, they probably represent a modification in the trend towards an indigenous ancestor cult.

(3) THE SYMBOLISM OF THE BAYON

The Bayon we know was Jayavarman VII's temple of the *devarāja*, represented as a gigantic Lokeśvara which was also the portrait statue of the living king. Built in response to the stimulus of late Mahāyānist influence, it yet bears such a highly original stamp that we may well feel hopeful that it can reveal to us some thing more of the character of the local genius which, to even the most casual observer, here seems stronger in its power to mould than it has been at any previous time in the Khmer architectural evolution. We must therefore examine the Bayon's symbolism with care and an open mind.

First there are the *nāga* balustrades, borne by parallel rows of gods and giants, which line the causeways leading

¹ op. cit., p. 24.

² *Le Bayon d'Angkor*, p. 201.

to the gates of Angkor Thom, at the centre of which is the Bayon. Cœdès remarks "Elle a une valeur évocatrice certaine, et tend à matérialiser sous nos yeux le mythe du barattement de l'océan . . . il a suffi aux sculpteurs d'ajouter à l'ensemble fossé-porte-*nāga* les deux rangées de dieux et de géants, pour évoquer immédiatement le mythe du barattement."¹

But Mus is less certain. "It is generally admitted," he says, "that they recall the churning of the Sea of Milk, which is a well-known legendary subject: the gods and their eternal rivals the asuras, divided into two parties at the two ends of a serpent coiled round the mythical mountain of Mandara, have caused it to revolve by pulling at the serpent for the purpose of extracting all sorts of wonders, and finally ambrosia, from the waters. But at Angkor Thom there is not one serpent, there are two. Gods and Titans each carry their own. Further, instead of pulling against each other, they are in two parallel lines facing those who arrive. It is quite clear that they are churning nothing. As a purely decorative motif, these balustrades no doubt recall the churning motif. But here the resemblance ends. The true meaning of the Angkor Thom bridges must be sought elsewhere."²

At this point we may usefully recall the Javanese *Tantu Panggelaran* story about the bringing of the upper part of Meru to Java. In this story it will be remembered that certain features recalled the churning of the ocean, although in fact there is no churning at all. The reason for this, as we have seen, is that the Indian churning myth, based on the rotation of the stars of the Assyrio-Babylonian astronomy, had no appeal to the later Javanese of the resurgence. They merely wished to borrow the Indian Meru concept in order to give fuller expression to their own idea of the cosmic mountain.

¹ *Pour mieux comprendre . . .*, p. 101.

² "Angkor in the Time of Jayavarman VII," *I. A. & L.*, 1937, p. 69.

While it is not suggested that this stage had been reached here, for it hardly could have been at a time when Indian influence was so strong, and indeed the churning is represented on the Bayon reliefs as on those of Angkor Wat, there is evidently an evolution in that direction.

The above receives confirmation from what Mus goes on to say is the true meaning of the Angkor Thom bridges, a meaning which Coedès mentions as well as, but not instead of, the churning interpretation. It is the rainbow bridge, represented in Indian and in Indo-chinese lore by serpents. And the rainbow bridge unites earth to heaven, the latter symbolized by the cosmic mountain of the *devārāja*, the pyramid-shrine of Bayon. The theme is thus Indian, but its choice and moulding into one of the most impressive features of Angkor Thom is local. Emphasizing as it does the older pre-planetary concept of the cosmic mountain, it provides another indication that the local genius concerned is the Older Megalithic.

I do not think that the Khmer predilection for the *nāga* motif can be traced to the possibly ancient Asiatic basis of the *garuḍa/nāga* cosmological complex, although the source of the Indian, Cham, and Khmer *nāga* origin dynastic legends is uncertain.¹ Snake worship had little part in Babylonian religion and there is really no trace of it in the basic Megalithic beliefs.² It seems possible that local snake cults grew up everywhere in South-east Asia as in India, out of a need to propitiate this dangerous and always somewhat mysterious reptile. It gained an important place in the folklore of all these countries, and everywhere suggests itself as the natural replacement for the less familiar Indian *makara*, except in Champa where it is itself replaced by the dragon.

¹ J. Przyluski, "La princesse à l'odeur de poisson et la Nāgi," *Études Asiatiques*, vol. ii, pp. 266-292.

² However it is possible that the liking for *nāga* pediment borders, that is characteristic of Khmer but not of Cham art, was actuated by the Older Megalithic custom of placing carved figures of animals, of magic import, on the house fronts.

The somewhat pre-Indian attitude towards the cosmic mountain that seems to be betrayed by the emphasis on the bridges, is further illustrated when we come to consider the symbolism of the four-faced towers which are the most curious features of the Bayon. Mus explains that these faces are those of Samantamukha Avalokiteśvara, the omnipresent Bodhisattva who "faces in all directions" and is incarnate in all other deities. So says the Mahāyānist book *The Lotus of the Good Law*, and in such manner were towers decorated at Nālandā, according to I-Ching. But what gave this Indian concept such appeal to the Khmers that they built a pyramid not merely crowned by one or five four-faced towers but by a veritable galaxy of more than fifty such towers, all representing this Buddhist deity with which the *devarāja* and Jayavarman VII had become identified? On the strength of the nature of the images of local gods and deified dignitaries that were housed within the towers, Mus answers the question as follows:

"Chaque tour correspond sans doute à une province du royaume, ou mieux, au centre religieux et administratif de la province. Donc, si les quatre visages symbolisent la puissance royale rayonnant sur le territoire, les installer au dessus du culte, et par allégorie, du site même de chaque province, c'était peut-être signifier tout uniment que Jayavarman VII était roi dans cette province aussi bien qu'à Angkor. D'où la nécessité de multiplier les tours à visages en rapport avec une partie du royaume. Le 'grande miracle' de Jayavarman VII, traduit par une architecture énigmatique, mais qui commence à s'éclaircir, c'est, avant tout, l'image de sa puissance administrative et religieuse, étendue à tout le territoire cambodgien sous un signe unique: le portrait même du roi qui fait l'unité de cette diversité."¹

¹ "Le Symbolisme à Angkor Thom," *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Jan.-March, 1936, p. 65, as quoted by G. Coëdes in *Pour Mieux Comprendre*, p. 145.

Thus, seen as Lokeśvara, we have the representation of the *devarāja's* beneficial influence flowing out to the four quarters of the universe. Seen as Jayavarman VII we have equally the concept of the king's power extending over the four quarters of his kingdom. So was it assured that the affairs of men would be ordered on the model of those of the cosmos, with which the sacred image ensured continuing contact through the zenith of the symbolic pyramid. The idea was basic to the Indian religious administration too. But there it was subordinated, as we have seen, to the circular motion of *pradakṣiṇā* resulting from the superposition of the planetary cosmology. In the Bayon the position is reversed. The idea of *pradakṣiṇā*, if not completely lost, is certainly very subordinate to the concept of the radiation of power to the quarters, as emphasized by the importance of the rainbow bridges leading from the mystic centre, and above all by the emphasis on the four-faced towers.

I can only conclude that in the Bayon we have the case par excellence where, as I suggested on page 65, if we find the growth of the pyramid, over and beyond any such development in India, accompanied by a tendency to stress the outflow of power to the quarters more than the circular movement, we may legitimately accept these as signs that the Older Megalithic genius is at work. To this it may be added that the largely secular character of the bas-reliefs of the Bayon, which are intended mainly to commemorate the warlike exploits of Jayavarman VII, suggest that by the end of the twelfth century the Khmers were on the brink of forgetting the other than local origin of their religion and their national deity.

This is not to be construed as to mean that in the Bayon we have the beginnings of decadence, any more than the Javanese resurgence was a sign of decadence. The tremendous building efforts of Jayavarman VII

and his foreign conquests do not suggest decadence, though they may have produced a certain exhaustion that was the prelude to this. Admittedly too, the haste demanded of the craftsmen must have led to carelessness in detail, which would be particularly evident in the bas-reliefs. But the art of the Bayon should not be judged by the execution of its bas-reliefs, for this is to look at the achievement too much from an Indian and too little from a local point of view. According to the latter, grandeur of total conception, on a scale never equalled in India, was the standard of value rather than delicacy of detail or spirituality of feeling. What one should bear in mind when judging the Bayon, however more in keeping with Western ideals Angkor Wat appears to be, is that here the Khmers have responded powerfully to a new stimulus, and in moulding it in accordance with their lively local genius, have achieved a work of unsurpassed originality of appearance. In this respect, as has already been said above, it marks the summit of the Khmer evolution.

It seems to me that Marchal's description of the Bayon as having the appearance of a "sculptured rock"¹ is by no means too imaginative in that it does rather foreshadow what would have been the ultimate fate of Khmer art had a pre-Indian cultural resurgence ensued. Have we not seen as much in Java? And believing that it offers a correct appraisal of the spirit of Khmer art as we may see it at work in the Bayon, I do not hesitate to repeat here a sentence from my preliminary effort to analyse the local genius at work in this certainly bizarre, if no longer so mysterious, monument. "Were it not that the observer usually approaches the Bayon imbued with Indian preconceptions, he might for the moment imagine himself—after first passing the giant's causeway, so suggestive of a megalithic avenue—in the presence of an array of huge

¹ *Guide Archéologique aux Temples d'Angkor*, p. 89.

statue-menhirs on some unusually elaborate Polynesian *ahu*.”¹

We need not indeed go so far afield as the Polynesian *ahu*. A comparison with the Javanese megalithic terrace gives us equally an appreciation of the spirit that is at work in moulding the Indian features and import of the Bayon according to local tradition. For here the Khmers are as definitely guiding the four-faced *prāsāts*, of whose value in their original function they had never been deeply convinced, in the direction of the statue-menhir, a goal which we shall see was also in store for the sculpture of the period.

(4) KHMER ŚI T'EP: A SUGGESTION OF A PRE-INDIAN RESURGENCE ?

It is indeed regrettable, for it would probably have provided us with much subsidiary evidence, that, after the Bayon, the Khmer evolution was disrupted without a pre-Indian cultural resurgence. The conservative character of the short-lived Śaivite revival of the thirteenth century was probably as much due to the fact that the conversion of the Khmer masses to Ceylon Buddhism must have brought a decline of pressure from the pre-Indian civilization to reassert itself, as to general exhaustion and the encroachment of the Thai. But I am inclined to entertain the idea, until the contrary is proved, that certain indications at remote Śi T'ep in the Nam Sak valley may shed a significant ray of light on the culture of the last days of the Khmer empire.

The most noteworthy of the Khmer monuments at Śi T'ep are two terraced laterite pyramids. One is situated near the centre of the old city enclosure, the

¹ "Culture Change in Greater India," *JRAS*, 1948, p. 26.

other, larger and better preserved, is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles outside the city to the north, and is approached by two laterite roads. In the first place it is matter for comment that such structures have been built in such a remote city of the empire, since they are presumably connected with the *devarāja* cult and, so far as I know, there are no comparable examples outside the capitals of Cambodia.

While the *dvārapāla* statues found at Śī T'ep are in Bayon style, the cult remains are Śaivite not Mahāyānist, suggesting that they may belong to the latest period of the Khmer civilization. Could the pyramids have been built by rulers who, isolated from Angkorian authority through the Thai expansion, had set up a temporary independence? If so, there was probably a succession of at least two such rulers, each of whom had built, or had had built for him, a pyramid-shrine of the *devarāja*. This does not mean that each had a slightly different capital city, for of this there is no evidence, and at Angkor several such structures (Mébon, Prè Rup, Ta Kèo, Angkor Wat) were built, not at the centre of the city, but as royal temple-tombs.

The better preserved and therefore probably slightly younger pyramid, situated outside the city of Śī T'ep, is the one that has a special interest for us here. I quote from my original description of the structure on its upper terrace, which struck me, when I discovered it, as being very strange: "This brings me to the curious feature of this building, which, so far as I know, is unique in Khmer architecture. On this upper terrace was erected a brick truncated cone, about 25 feet high and having a diameter at its base of about 100 feet. At one or two places on the surface of this cone the brickwork was exposed, indicating from its appearance that the cone was not a mere mound of rubble. On reaching the summit of the truncated cone one stood on the narrow rim of a shaft sunk perpendicularly into

the cone. The opening of the shaft measured about 9 feet square and the depth was about 15 feet. The definite brick courses of the smooth inner walls showed that this shaft was not the excavation of treasure-hunters, but was evidently an original structure. We have seen that the upper part of the laterite mountain in the main city seems originally to have enclosed a central cavity; and it is well known¹ that corresponding buildings in Cambodia had wells sunk into their centres in which were ensconced *liṅgas* in connection with the cult of the *devarāja*. I can only suggest that this remarkable pierced brick cone is a local variation of the same idea."²

Not having in mind at the time the hypothesis that now presents itself, I made no search for corners which, if still preserved, would have shown that the "cone" was really a weathered pyramid. If that should be the case we should have a terminal pyramid very similar in conception, although of brick, to the terminal pyramid which crowns the topmost terrace of the fifteenth century *devarāja* shrine of Sukuh in Java. It would be replacing the *prāsāt* that we should expect to find crowning a Khmer pyramid. And in so doing it would be providing a very strong suggestion of a local resurgence of an essentially Older Megalithic conception of the cosmic mountain, replacing the classical Khmer type that could still pass muster as an Indian Meru.

The possibility is intriguing. But I do not like to place undue emphasis on it, since it may be that the enigmatic structure has some other explanation. In any case I think that my theory is adequately based on

¹ Actually it was only in his report of November, 1936, that M. Marchal came to the definite conclusion, as a result of his recent work on Bakong, that the central chamber in the Angkor pyramid-shrines was an original structure, not the work of treasure seekers (see *ABIA* for 1938, p. 23).

² "The Exploration of Sri Deva," *I. A. de L.*, vol. x, pt. 2, p. 99 and fig. 8.

the architectural evidence that has been adduced in the earlier sections of this chapter. We may now proceed to see if the evidence of sculpture and design accords with it.

(5) KHMER SCULPTURE

The Pre-Angkorian sculptural remains (belonging to the styles of Sambor, Prei Khmeng, and Kompong Prah, seventh and eighth centuries)¹ include a number of Buddhist images found in the province of Prei Krabas. These, with their supple *hanché* forms and clinging drapery, remain close to the canons of the Indian Gupta school. Very similar are some small figures of female deities while, probably somewhat later, are a group of large male statues. These include the well-known Harihara of Aśram Mahā Rosei in the Musée Guimet, and also the later Harihara of Prāsāt Andet.² The latter, despite a certain stylization, recalls the earlier, but aesthetically not more successful sculpture of Śi T'ep.

While the above-mentioned images all seem predominantly Gupta in style, Dupont has called attention³ to a group of Vaiṣṇava statues with cylindrical head-dresses and long robes found in Siam and the northern part of the Malay Peninsula and Cambodia, which appear strongly Pallava. I have accepted this opinion without qualification in the case of those from the western zone; but it seems to me that there is considerable difference in spirit and execution between these and the majority of those of the group that have apparently been made in Cambodia.

¹ For Khmer art styles see the Table on following page, condensed from G. de Coral Rémusat *L'Art Khmer*, pp. 128-130.

² de Coral Rémusat, op. cit., pl. xxx; *Ars Asiatica*, vol. xvi, pls. i, ii, iv, xxi-xxiv; Parmentier, *L'Art Khmer Primitif*, chapter 10.

³ "Viṣṇu mitrés de l'Indochine occidentale," *BEFEO*, vol. xli, pp. 233-254, pls. xxvii-xxxvii.

TABLE OF KHMER ART STYLES

(Condensed from the table in *L'Art Khmer* by G. de Coral Rémusat, pp. 128-130)

Note.—The first three styles are sometimes collectively referred to by me as Pre-Angkorian, but it should be borne in mind that there is no break in the Khmer evolution, the art of Kulen forming the link with Angkorian art.

<i>Styles.</i>	<i>Examples.</i>
<i>Style of Sambor</i> (7th c.)	Sambor Prei Kuk (except C-1)
<i>Style of Prei Khmeng</i> (end of 7th-middle 8th c. ?)	Prei Khmeng Prasat Andet
<i>Style of Kompong Prah</i> (second half of 8th c. ?)	Kompong Prah Ak Yom (oldest parts)
<i>Style of Kulên</i> (first half of 9th c.)	Sambor C-1 Most bldgs. on Phnom Kulen
<i>Style of Prah Kô</i> (last quarter of 9th c.)	Prah Kô (879) Bakong (881) Lolei (893)
<i>Style of Bakheng</i> (end of 9th and beginning 10th c.)	Phnom Bakheng
Transition	Prasat Kravan (921)
<i>Style of Koh Ker</i> (2nd quarter of 10th c.)	Koh Ker
Transition	Mébon oriental (952) Prè Rup (961)
<i>Style of Bantéay Srei</i> (2nd half of 10th c.)	Bantéay Srei (967)
<i>Style of Kléang</i> (last years 10th and beginning 11th c. ?)	Ta Kêo Kléang Phiméanakas
Transition (2nd quarter or middle 11th c.)	Prah Vibear
<i>Style of Baphuon</i> (middle or 2nd half 11th c.)	Baphuon Mébon occidental
<i>Style of Angkor Wat</i> (last years 11th and first half 12th c.)	Phimai (1108) Angkor Wat
<i>Style of Bayon</i> (second half of 12th and beginning of 13th c.)	Ta Prohm Bantéay Kdei Prah Khan Bayon Bantéay Chmar

The heads of the Cambodian examples are no less fine than those of the first group, but the torsos and especially the legs show an inferior modelling and absence of musculature, which gives the whole figure a heavy monumental quality. Again, they all show signs of having had some form of arch support, as also do the Gupta style large figures above mentioned. Such supports cannot be shown to have existed, Dupont admits,¹ in any of the group of Pallava statues from Siam or the Peninsula, any more than they can in the Śī T'ep statues. Their presence in the Cambodian group suggests that the Khmers, prior to the ninth century, had still considerable difficulty with the technique of free standing sculptures.

As summing up the character of the Pre-Angkorian Khmer sculpture, one could hardly do better than quote the opinion of Cœdès: "La statuaire, qui a produit quelques pièces remarquables, conserve certains traits des prototypes hindous, mais elle montre déjà les tendances à la raideur et à la frontalité qui caractérisent l'art du Cambodge par rapport à celui des autres pays de l'Inde extérieure."²

This suggests an unusually active local genius (perhaps owing to a lesser intensity of Indian influence), in that it has not only already manifested itself so definitely in moulding the character of the *devarāja* cult and the Indian conception of the Meru, but that it should so early be making a readily recognizable impression on the Hindu sculpture. This, it will be remembered, we have found in Java and Champa to have been subjected to much stricter Indianization than appears to have been the case in Cambodia.

A close parallel to the development of sculpture-in-the-round up to this time may be seen in the rare examples of bas-relief attributable to the Pre-Angkorian

¹ *ibid.*, p. 247.

² *Les États*, p. 125.

period. A lintel of the Sambor style is peopled with figures showing a lively naturalism, each personage being beautifully modelled in a manner which suggests a close acquaintance with Indian technique.¹ But by the style of Prei Khmeng, the figures in the rare examples of lintels showing scenes are already conventional.

The first Angkorian style—the style of Kulēn—in which the slight modifications in dress details were so important to Stern in establishing the connection between Pre-Angkorian and Angkorian art, show no great change in general features. It is, however, of some interest to note that the mainly Gupta character is somewhat modified by the suggestion of Pallava influence in the form of the head-dress,² just as contemporary Cham sculpture of Hoa-lai style appears to me to show some Pallava influence in details of attire.

It is only towards the end of the ninth century (style of Prab Kō) that the influence from Java, that must have been introduced considerably earlier, really begins to make itself felt in the statuary. The *dvārapālas* and *devatās* in particular show a multiplicity of belts and other ornaments which can be ascribed to this source; so also in all probability can the remarkably naturalistic technique of the bas-reliefs of Bakong.

In the styles of Bakheng and Koh Ker, owing to the waning of Indian and Indo-Javanese influences, and the consequent relaxation of canonical controls, we find local genius coming into its own. Without offering any reason to account for it, Stern nevertheless says of the sculpture of this period (end of ninth and first half of tenth century): “La perfection du modelé cède devant une impression de grandeur, de force, de majesté, de dureté même. Puissance et sécheresse deviennent les caractères dominants. Les statues sont en général

¹ *L'Art Khmer*, fig. 89.

² Dupont, loc. cit., p. 245.

grandes et massives.”¹ The face takes on a hard and rigid appearance, with straight joined eyebrows and double-bordered eyes and mouth; the bodies, marked by a severe frontality, in which respect for anatomical detail is no longer apparent, are treated “en masses beaucoup plus architecturales que plastiques et sont plus puissants que beaux”.²

While at this time Indo-Javanese sculpture was still rigidly controlled by Indian conventions, the situation in Cambodia runs parallel to the largely contemporary Đông-dzu’o’ng style of Champa. But the effect of the temporary recession of foreign influences was different in the two cases. In Champa, as we have seen, the upsurge of the Han element in the genius produced a certain dynamic naturalism, and an attempt to portray the local ethnic characteristics. But in Cambodia the ebbing of foreign stimulus had a different sequel, one which clearly reveals the activity of the spirit of the Older Megalithic monumental technique. Indeed the straight eyebrows and hard features, so unlike those of the contemporary Cham sculptures moulded by the genius of a more advanced culture, are even reminiscent of the treatment of the features of many a static ancestor figure, and especially of the carved wood heads on Angami Naga houses, however much more æsthetically successful we may consider the effect when the technique is applied to the Indian data. This diagnosis is well supported by the style of the bas-reliefs of the period, e.g. those of Prāsāt Kravan.

In the style of Bantéay Srei, we find ourselves in the presence of a type of foreign stimulus we have not previously encountered, namely the influence of the past style of Prah Kō, which amounts to a recrudescence of the Indo-Javanese influence of a century earlier. Whether this was largely due to some “cultural

¹ In Réau's *Histoire Universelle des Arts* (iv), p. 231.

² *L'Art Khmer*, p. 99.

accident" or personal preference of antiquarian nature, is not known. But, whatever the circumstances, the art of Bantéay Srei shows an amazing response to this old stimulus: Most noticeable characteristics are a liking for smaller figures, a general softening of the facial contours and a slight rounding of the eyebrows, while the mouth narrows between deep plump lips.

Temple pediments in the style of Bantéay Srei are adorned with reliefs in which the figures once more show a lively naturalism and subtlety of modelling. Indeed throughout the eleventh century (styles of Kléang and Baphūon) the effect of these revived Indo-Javanese influences is seen in the generally soft contours of the sculpture, while at Baphūon the bas-reliefs spread to gallery walls.

Styles of Angkor Wat and Bayon (twelfth and beginning of thirteenth century): By the beginning of this period the Indo-Javanese influence has declined or finally disappeared. Some images, including even some slightly later Buddhist ones,¹ resume almost the rigid countenance of the Koh Ker style. But this reassertion of local genius is soon suppressed under the influence of the stylized Gupta art of Buddhist Dvāravatī, with which the Khmers had come in contact through their annexation of Central Siam early in the eleventh century.² Though the Buddhism of Jayavarman VII was Mahāyānism, it was the image style that had survived in Dvāravatī that was at hand to supply models for the enormous new demand for sacred figures, especially standing ones. These now supplemented the form in which the Buddha was represented as seated on the *nāga*, the type of Buddha image most usually made in Cambodia during the eleventh century. The effects of this contact with Dvāravatī art form one of the

¹ *L'Art Khmer*, p. 103.

² Dupont, "Art de Dvāravatī et Art Khmer," *R.A.A.*, vol. ix, part 2, pp. 68 ff.

most impressive examples of the power of Gupta art to influence, even where it survived only in stylized form.

Yet it was not long before local genius again asserted its power and began to mould the new importation. In both the Buddhas and the innumerable Bodhisattvas sculptured to meet the new demand, the half-closed eyes beneath their softly rounded brows were soon quite closed, the Khmer treatment of the hair replaces that of Gupta art, and a once faint smile of mystic contemplation is enormously broadened. This famous smile is reached only in the Bayon period, by an "inspiration of genius" according to Mme de Coral. Need the result be any the less admirable because our analysis obliges us to recognize the "inspiration" as due to the megalithic tendency to exaggerate?

The correctness of this inference receives further support when one turns from contemplation of the attractive head, which admirers of Khmer art seldom do, to accord the body even a cursory examination. It is obvious that the Khmers of the Bayon period no longer paid attention to the modelling of the heavily treated body, which often shows an extreme degree of simplification. One is reminded of the tendency of all megalithic based sculpture to withdraw into the form from which it emerged—the menhir.

The bas-reliefs, covering the gallery walls with their magnificent panorama, are among the most distinctive features of the art of Angkor Wat and the Bayon. A steady progress towards Khmerization, after the Indo-Javanese influenced examples of Bantéay Srei, is little disturbed by the Dvāravatī contact. Very shallowly carved, the reliefs have lost the plasticity seen at Bantéay Srei and Baphūon, while individual figures, though often lively, are schematic and rigid. With their *horreur de vide* they are certainly well suited to accompany the architecture they adorn. And, restricted as they are within well defined horizontal series, the

ruling consideration was evidently that they should do nothing that might impair the severely monumental aspect of the pyramid. Yet, in being thus utilized, the bas-reliefs are reduced to a function of the monument that bears them.

This, as Mme de Coral points out, had happened once before in the Khmer evolution. It happened when in Pre-Angkorian times, the living scenes, sculptured under close Indian guidance, were replaced by conventional images viewed as part of the architecture. Later the reliefs of Bantéay Srei underwent a similar transformation: "Thus it would seem that the Khmers twice received from abroad the technique of the scene with figures treated for its own sake; twice, in the early art as in the classic art, they have moulded these foreign data to the style of their own genius."¹

(6) KHMER DESIGN

Finally we come to the consideration of Khmer ornamental design, and in order to discover the significance of its main trend we shall compare it with parallel developments in Cham design. In so doing we shall bear in mind that we have shown good reason to believe that the main tendencies in Cham design are actuated by a mainly Dongsonian genius, which always manifests itself in a liking for complicated spirals, graceful meanders, etc. On the other hand, were we concerned with an Older Megalithic constituted genius this would be likely to stress isolated motifs, circles, rosettes, medallions, etc.

We shall see that the contrast we have already noted when comparing the Bayon and Cham (Binh-dinh) lintels is by no means confined thereto. In fact, design in the two arts show opposing trends which it would be difficult to interpret on any other grounds than as being

¹ *L'Art Khmer*, p. 95.

due to a difference in genius. As a rule it is the pilasters that provide us with the best material for the study of design. But even in the garlands decorating the lintels it is interesting to note that, whereas the Chams transformed the originally Indian garlands of their friezes into continuous undulating bands, the Khmers transformed their garlands into separate foliage loops, in such manner that it is often only the surviving pendants between them that serve as indication of their garland origin.

The scroll with recurved volutes which we have seen became so popular in Java when introduced from India, and in Cham art when brought from Java, occurs rarely in early Khmer art, for example at Sambor. But it is heavily and badly executed there,¹ for it made little appeal to the Khmers. They seem to have preferred that typical Indian motif, so widespread in India, the series of alternating flowers, lozenges, and perhaps circles and squares (a simple pair of volutes attached to each of these). This motif accorded well with the Older Megalithic taste and lent itself to development as isolated rosettes or medallions.² Indeed the lotus rosette in Indian art itself has been recognized as probably a borrowing from Babylonian culture.³

Furthermore the treatment accorded by the Khmers to the Indian scroll motif was very different from that which it received from the welcoming hands of the Javanese and Chams. They neglected it. And once they had been more deeply impressed with it as a result of the strong Indo-Javanese influence of the ninth century, the action of their own genius began to break it up into isolated motifs. Why did they not reject it altogether? Partly perhaps because it came with the more or less neutral material that makes up every

¹ *ibid.*, p. 74.

² H. Parmentier, *L'Art Khmer Primitif*, fig. 72.

³ S. K. Chatterji, "Some problems of the origin of Art and Culture in India," *The Visvabharati Quarterly*, vol. viii, 1930, p. 276.

cultural pattern, partly also because as they developed they must have experienced a desire for new decorative forms, although they tended to handle them in their own particular way.

We shall now examine this process a little more closely. In doing so we shall make a direct comparison with Cham designs in which, as has been said, we have good reason to think that the guiding force was Dongsonian.

The original type of scroll with recurved volutes, as borrowed from Java, is definitely copied in the style of Prah Kō,¹ and again at Bantéay Srei.² That is to say they come off an unbroken undulating stem so that the eye, being carried along it, gets the impression primarily of a continuous meander form (even though in the Khmer versions disregard for this effect is already shown by allowing the pilaster mouldings to encroach somewhat upon the stem).

By the style of Baphūon³ a marked change has come about which is completed in the style of Bayon.⁴ Now the continuous undulating stem has disappeared and each volute springs from its neighbour. The eye, instead of being carried on, tends to follow the curve of each volute so that one gets the effect of a barely connected series of circles, which is precisely the effect that has been remarked in the case of the Bayon lintel. A further stage is sometimes reached in the Bayon,⁵ or even in the Angkor Wat style,⁶ where the volutes turn into barely connected and finally into *completely separated* medallions.

In Cham art no such trend can be discerned; nor is there even any tendency (as at Koh Ker and Bantéay Srei) to allow the pilaster moulding to encroach upon the stem. Most significant is the fact that even in the

¹ *L'Art Khmer*, fig. 68.

² *ibid.*, fig. 72.

³ *ibid.*, fig. 102.

⁴ *ibid.*, fig. 69.

⁵ *ibid.*, fig. 73.

⁶ *ibid.*, figs. 100, 101.

Binh-dinh style, where there is, as we have seen, so much imitation of contemporary Khmer art, the stress on the undulating stem is rigorously maintained. Besides the lintel already referred to, another good example is to be seen in the decoration of the ten-armed Śiva from the Tours d'Argent in the Musée Guimet (M.G. 18180).

I doubt if it could be seriously maintained that the trend towards circles, medallions, etc., in Khmer design is but the tendency towards simplification observable in all arts as they decline. In the first place the trend is established quite by the Baphūon style when Khmer art had still to reach its zenith. Secondly, were we to admit simplification as a possible factor, we should be obliged to admit that the Khmers simplify very differently from the Chams. In the later Cham art, as we have already seen, manuscript ss (i.e. simplified spirals) are the overwhelmingly preponderant decorative motif. The Binh-dinh style dragon in the Musée Guimet (M.G. 18901), for example, is decorated mainly with manuscript ss and rows of little corkscrew-like motifs, both quite foreign to Khmer art. While even in decay the Dong-So'n spirit still gives distinction to Cham design, we see in the Khmer art of the Bayon, in which Javanese influences have been left far behind, the eventual triumph of the Older Megalithic mode of treatment.

(7) THE RHYTHM OF EVOLUTION

More clearly perhaps than in the other arts we have studied in this book, the Khmer evolution illustrates in terms of stimulus and response the action of local genius in moulding each succeeding influence so that some new form is produced, a form which is however always compatible with the main trend of the evolution.

The unfolding of the Khmer evolution, indeed, shows us how local genius often seems at its most active during

those periods in which, from the point of view of the acceptance of new motifs from abroad, the art seems relatively stagnant. Mme de Coral clearly brought out the contrast.¹ But the introduction or revival of foreign motifs is not the only criterion for judging of a people's artistic activity. It is during the intervening periods that local genius most actively moulds what has been borrowed, so that it conforms to the main trend of the evolution. It is thus that we find in Mme de Coral's so-called "phases de sommeil" in Khmer art (Prei Khmeng, Kompong Prah, Bakheng, Koh Ker, Kléang, Baphuon, and Bayon), despite a certain time lag in respect to deity sculpture that we have learnt to expect, such characteristically Khmer developments as a tendency towards decoration with medallions, or the breaking up of complicated motifs based on spirals, enhanced monumental quality of the statuary and accelerated growth of the pyramid-shrine.

Now we may aptly close this section, and indeed our whole study of the Khmer evolution, by quoting with approval, and leaving the reader to judge of their significance, the words in which M. Stern has epitomized his general impression of Khmer art:

"Rappelons, en terminant, qu'à travers une riche évolution où dominant tour à tour des tendances très-diverses, l'art Khmèr revient toujours au goût de l'aspect monumental et de l'ordre: géométrie des cités, vastes composition ordonnée et équilibrée de l'édifice, frontalité des statues en ronde-bosse, lignes horizontales des grand bas-reliefs."²

¹ *ibid.*, p. 126.

² *Réau's Histoire Universelle des Arts* (iv), p. 236.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

Once I had demonstrated in an early chapter the purely imitative character of the Indianesque arts of the "western zone" of Greater India, consideration of the Indian share in the building of the civilizations of Java, Champa, and Cambodia has not bulked largely in this book. That does not mean that there has been any underestimation of the importance of the Indian share. It means only that, since our main problem has concerned the causes of the differentiation of the arts of these eastern zone countries, there has been little reason to make much ado about the Indian factor which is, broadly speaking, common to all. Indeed I have made it plain that everywhere up to the end of the eighth century, there was relatively little scope for the local peoples to express themselves in their own way. Differences up to that time were largely due to the complex interactions of the waves of Indian culture reaching each country in slightly different proportions.

Now, as I near the end of my inquiry, I am fully alive to the importance of leaving the reader in no possible doubt as to what I consider the proper perspective in which the Indian factor should be seen throughout. In terms which not infrequently proved their analytical value in the course of this work, I would simply say this: The Indian influence was the stimulus without which there would have been no response.

M. Stern, while admitting the existence of a "local creative force and personality", has stated his opinion that the Indian share in the evolution of the eastern zone arts was the more active.¹ Bearing in mind the

¹ loc. cit., p. 179.

completely static character of the western zone arts, in which the Indian element reigned supreme and alone, I find it difficult to agree with this. But perhaps the following formula would offer a basis of agreement: The Indian share was more active in terms of stimulus; but the local contribution certainly showed no less activity in terms of response.

Having considered our problem separately from the angle of three different civilizations, there naturally are some points of comparison which invite our attention in retrospect. Java, with its diversity of pre-Indian cultural experiences, resulting no doubt from its situation at the crossroads of the southern seas, and with its strong resurgence of local culture after the period of Indianization, provides the most complete example of a full evolution. It provides also the most complex subsidiary problems, some of them seemingly insoluble. Yet the actual course of the Indo-Javanese evolution is the least obscured by the complication of secondary influences from the other Greater Indian civilizations.

Paradoxically enough the strong resurgence of pre-Indian culture, that is such a feature of the Indo-Javanese evolution, was preceded by the heaviest Indianization of any region of the eastern zone. The strength of this resurgence was no doubt aided by the fact that Java had great natural wealth and at the same time insular freedom from rapacious continental invaders as well as from new religious impulses, prior to the coming of Islam.

In contrast to Indo-Javanese civilization, a striking feature of both the Cham and Khmer cultures is the relatively simple make-up of their local genii. In the development of their arts this is largely compensated by a greater enrichment by loan material from contemporary Greater Indian sources. Neither Champa nor Cambodia ever experienced anything comparable to the static

Kadiri period of Java. Perhaps the heavier Indianization there encouraged the development of a conserving tendency second only to that of the western zone. And the inference seems justified that it is variety of foreign influences, rather than complexity of local genius, that most enriches an art. On the other hand it is local genius, so long as it remains active and there is no extreme acculturation, that preserves the distinctive character of the art and gives it direction throughout the evolution.

Just as it is variety of foreign stimuli that most enriches an art, so is it activity of response thereto that gives true originality of expression, producing art forms that are new and belong only to the producing civilization. Judged by the criterion of originality, it is those periods in which local genius is most active in moulding the borrowed forms that represent peaks of evolution; though that does not mean that those peaks are the products that have most appeal to Indian or to European eyes.

The need to stress, as Stutterheim was the first to do, that Majapahit art is not the product of a degeneration, but springs from virile resurgence, may make it as well to add a reminder that there was nothing permanent about such virility. Like all else the Majapahit culture was subject to decadence and decay in its turn, though not before it had made some original contributions to human achievement. The inevitability of such a fate is indeed evident enough in the present-day art of Bali, with its endless repetition of old motifs, despite the pleasing vitality of the people and the fact that their civilization is still a living one. And in the case of Champa we have seen how decay was virtually coeval with the return to pre-Indian culture.

Where a local genius has multiple constituents, my impression (and in the present state of knowledge it can be nothing more) is that the most recently acquired of the

constant elements in the genius is the first to assert its power to mould, the more ancient and deep-seated gradually strengthening in the order of their relative antiquity. When the actual resurgence of the pre-Indian civilizations sets in, I suspect that the more recently acquired, and therefore less deep-seated cultures, are represented only by a temporary strengthening of their element in the genius, not by any actual revival of cultural elements which by then may have been completely lost. Ultimately only the modified fundamental cultural stratum remains. This is not necessarily the Older Megalithic, since this may have been replaced through extreme acculturation by a later pre-Indian culture, as was the case in Champa. It will rather be the oldest of the strata that have not thus been destroyed.

As we have seen, this recrudescence of the pre-Indian cultures is not just due to their having survived (not without some loss) in outlying places, and then having crept back into the metropolises as Indian influence waned. They lived on in the minds even of the majority of the educated city dwellers, and continued to operate through local genius, though they were not in full consciousness so long as Indianization was strong.

Cœdès' recognition (which I quoted on page 27) of the impossibility of solving many problems of evolution by the study of sculpture alone has been well borne out in our inquiry. It was neglect of this principle, in his one-sided concentration on the Indo-Javanese sculptural evolution, that led Bernet Kempers astray; and Stern, in his analysis of the Cham evolution, wisely relegated the sculpture to an appendix, because of the impossibility of attaining chronological certainty with regard to them, although I think there is little doubt as to the validity of his main conclusions. I, too, could never have based my investigation on sculpture alone, or even primarily.

The difficulty with regard to deity sculpture, which all have experienced who have concerned themselves

with them from the point of view of change, is that, frozen by the control of the *śāstras*, they are very resistant to the handling of local genius. Fortunately it is only in the Indo-Javanese sculptures, where Indianization is more intense than elsewhere in the eastern zone, that this control remains such as to render them of little value as evidence until late in the evolution. Elsewhere I have found the sculptural data of value, at least in subordinate degree. And if they speak in a less audible tone than do architecture and design, it is at least satisfactory to note that their voice is never a conflicting one.

Apart from the above reservations with regard to some of the deity sculpture, we have found that short of extreme acculturation, any foreign influence, if permanently accepted, quickly shows signs of being moulded in accordance with the local pattern. So long as the evolution goes on, as we have seen even in Champa, there is no difficulty in recognizing the nature of the local genius that is moulding the foreign accessions. At the same time foreign influences coming late in an evolution are readily recognized as such, because by then the character of local genius will have revealed itself. No one who has thus observed local genius at work could speak for one moment of an unguided "mixture" (such as one gets in the art of the Siamese who, with no clear previous cultural urge, did little but mingle their various loans).

At the same time it should be realized that I do not claim, any more than did Abram Kardiner, the original sponsor of the research tool that I use, that local genius is responsible for every vicissitude in cultural evolution. It is sufficient if local genius *gives direction* to evolution.

It is because local genius is *not* responsible for every vicissitude that too great a preoccupation with the minutiae of these arts may well hinder the observer from appreciating what local genius does do. Then it

may be a case of "not being able to see the wood for the trees." To observe the working of local genius it is advisable to stand well back from the picture. Then one will be the better able to discern what are the leading lines of an evolution, and compare these with what one sees when one similarly examines another.

To what extent have I succeeded in establishing the validity of my working hypothesis? Personally I will only claim to have advanced it to the status of a fully fledged theory. Imperfections and points which still baffle there certainly are. For example there is the problem of the solar aspect of Javanese religion, the tentative solution of which that I suggest is merely what I consider best covers the facts as at present known to us. But I feel that most of these imperfections and points of obscurity are less likely to be due to fundamental defects in my theory than to be the inevitable corollaries of our still limited knowledge of pre- and protohistory, and our still elementary understanding of the mechanisms of change.

The investigation of protohistory, as of culture change, is indeed the great need of future research in South-east Asia. A vast field for such work exists which, so far as systematic excavations are concerned, is almost untouched. I hope the theory set forth in this book may help to direct attention to the importance of these fascinating and still young subjects of inquiry. Certainly few who visit the South-east Asia of the future will be as insensitive to change as were many of their predecessors. It will come easier to them than it did to past observers to think, as I feel sure that they should, in terms of the whole sweep of cultural evolution from the remote palæolithic to the unknown to-morrow on whose insecure threshold we tread to-day. The Indianization of South-east Asia may then be seen as just one episode, though by no means the least remarkable, in the ever shifting kaleidoscope of change.

APPENDIX

THE PROBLEM OF PRE-ANGKORIAN ARCHITECTURE

Consideration of this matter has not been relegated to an appendix because of any underestimation of its importance, for indeed it concerns what has hitherto been one of the most puzzling problems of Greater Indian architectural history, and one which has been left severely alone by those who have done most for Khmer art history as a whole, namely M. Stern and the late Mme de Coral Rémusat. The fact is that it seemed to call for separate treatment because it involves a rather detailed discussion of the Indian factors which, if dealt with in the chapter on Cambodia, would have unduly delayed the development of the main theme of this book.

The problem, indeed, has no parallel in the Indo-Javanese and Cham arts in which the oldest surviving architectural material dates from the end of the eighth century at earliest. We could do no more, therefore, in those cases, than recognize that we were confronted with end-products of a probably unanalysable interaction of Indian influences in which the rôle of local genius had been limited to some degree of selection or emphasis. But for seventh and eighth century Cambodia we have available for study an extensive series of monuments, many of them in a good state of preservation. Hence, it would be surprising if any distinct types into which these monuments might appear to fall should not find an explanation in terms of the stimulus and response relationship, in other words as largely the results of the impact of one or other of the main waves of Indian

influence. But it will readily be appreciated, after all that we have said on the subject, that unlike what we have found to be the case in the western zone, there can be no expectation of finding at any time in Cambodia an epigonus imitation of an Indian form. Nevertheless, with buildings extending over two centuries, we naturally should have a better chance of distinguishing those in which the influence of one Indian wave was predominant from those built at a time when another wave was being more intensely experienced; a very different situation from that with which we were confronted in Java and Champa, where we only had the final products.

The Pre-Angkorian temples are almost all built of brick, stone being only used in a subsidiary rôle for lintels and door frames; and they usually, though not invariably, consist of a single sanctuary tower. M. Henri Parmentier, who carried out a detailed survey of them,¹ perceived that, while they had in common a door arch in the shape of a reversed U, they fell into two distinct types which he described as the "rich" and the simple".² The rich type is characterized by wealth of decoration, with miniature edifice reliefs between the pilasters, by false doors with corresponding niches on the roof storeys, these being relatively lofty and few in number. The simple type, on the other hand, are stunted and plain in appearance, lack false doors and niches and the resultant salient angles in the plan, the bare walls being decorated only with narrow pilasters. Most striking characteristic is the roof structure, which here consists of a large number of low stages each receding only slightly from the one below. Furthermore, this type has only lintels of the earliest form, that having a median band being swallowed by two convergent *makaras*, whereas, or so Parmentier stated in his

¹ *L'Art Khmer Primitif*, Paris, 1927; "Complément à l'Art Khmer Primitif" *BEFEO*, vol. xxxv, pp. 1-115.

² *L'Art Khmer Primitif*, pp. 343-5.

definition,¹ the rich type, with the single exception of Sambor Prei Kuk, sanctuary S-1, has lintels of later style. We shall see presently that this latter statement cannot be reconciled with the descriptions in Parmentier's own inventory.

Later Parmentier distinguished an "intermediate" type of Pre-Angkorian temple, differing from the simple type mainly in the somewhat greater height and smaller number of its roof stages. He first mentioned this in connection with the hypothesis on which he proposed to explain the origin of these different types,² repeating it on p. 100 of his "Complément".

According to this hypothesis the Khmers of Chen-la, when they conquered the core of Fu-nan, continued for a time in that area to use the local architectural style.³ This Parmentier thought must have been of his simple type for he saw, rightly enough, that the simple type had no influence on Angkorian architecture, and may indeed not have continued into the eighth century. He further thought that he had found support for his hypothesis in the localization of almost all the temples of the simple type in the region included in the angle made by the Tonlé Sap river with the Mekong, plus part of the latter's neighbouring left bank, i.e. the centre of the old Fu-nan kingdom.

In his latest work⁴ Parmentier so far relaxes his hitherto inflexible view, that all Fu-nan architecture must have been of light materials, as to classify some of the simple type temples as definitely "art du Fou-nan",

¹ *L'Art Khmer Primitif*, p. 344, n. 3, and "L'Art Presumé de Fou-nan", *BEFEO*, vol. xxxii, p. 183, n. 1.

² "L'Art Presumé de Fou-nan," *BEFEO*, vol. xxxii, pp. 183-9.

³ I regret that when referring to Parmentier's hypothesis in my article on *Si T'ep* (*I. A. & L.*, vol. x, 1936, pp. 70-81) I obscured the issue by mistakenly supposing that Parmentier meant that the rich type had evolved from the simple type, entirely incompatible though this would be with his all-embracing theory of separate origins from wood forms.

⁴ *L'Art Architectural Hindou dans l'Inde et en Extrême-Orient*, Paris, 1948, pp. 93-5.

ascribing them to the first half of the sixth century A.D. In so doing he may have been partly actuated by the fact that the existence of buildings of at least partly non-perishable construction in the fifth century in Fu-nan proper was proved by the Thap-muoi inscription, which was inscribed on a stone *piédroit*.

Another consideration, that may have encouraged Parmentier to take the step of definitely claiming some of the simple type temples as actually dating from Fu-nan times, is the conclusion to which H. Mauger came in 1936 in regard to the intermediate type temple Aśram Mahā Rosei, one of those which Parmentier now ascribes to the Fu-nan period. Mauger, after carrying out a detailed study of this attractive little temple, one of the only two stone Pre-Angkorian temples, in connection with his work of restoration, had come to an important conclusion.¹ He had recognized that the apparent Indo-Javanese influence in this temple, which others had remarked on before him, was not, in fact, due to Indo-Javanese influence, but was rather due to closeness to a common Indian prototype. But this entirely correct deduction induced Mauger to take an unwarranted further step, that of proposing for it the early date of sixth century A.D.

It is, however, mainly on the evidence of the lintels that Parmentier relies. As we have seen, he stated that it is only the sanctuary S-1 at Sambor Prei Kuk that has a lintel of the earliest type. Like most of the rest of this important group, this sanctuary is of the rich type, a few only of the others being intermediate (bordering on rich) with only a single example (S-2) of simple type. But on referring to Parmentier's inventory I find earliest style lintels enumerated also at the following Sambor Prei Kuk *rich type* sanctuaries: S-12, N-15, N-21, Z-1, W, while in other cases the lintels have evidently disappeared. I do not think it

¹ H. Mauger, "L'Aśram Mahā Rosei" *BEFEO*, vol. xxxvi, pp. 75-94.

will be necessary to labour the point in view of the fact that Mme de Coral Rémusat, in her work *L'Art Khmer*, denominates the earliest style of lintel as "Style of Sambor"! ¹

Consequently, it cannot be logically argued that the simple type Pre-Angkorian temples having only lintels of the earliest style establishes their anteriority over the rich type monuments. It only means that simple type temples probably did not continue to be built during the eighth century, the period during which the later styles of Pre-Angkorian lintels were evolved. The temples of Sambor Prei Kuk are believed to date from the first half of the seventh century A.D., since inscriptions of King Īśānavarman are particularly numerous there, giving reason to suppose that this was the site of his capital.² On the evidence of their lintels it cannot be concluded that the simple type temples antedate the rich type temples of Sambor Prei Kuk.

At this juncture we may usefully refer to some fruits of Coomaraswamy's insight which have been either overlooked or ignored by the French authorities throughout. As early as 1926 he expressed some valuable opinions on Pre-Angkorian architecture, and fortunately on buildings of different types, although he had not then at his disposal Parmentier's classification. In the first place he recognized the Sambor temples as "affording a substantial addition to our knowledge of late Gupta art",³ regarded the Bayang temple (which incidentally has a lintel of earliest style) as of the same type, and was the first to compare⁴ its false windows to those of the late Gupta brick Lakṣmaṇa temple of Sirpur.⁵

¹ In his latest work (op. cit., p. 97) Parmentier goes so far as to admit that the rich type temples have lintels that are "very rarely" of the earliest style, which is still somewhat of an understatement.

² Coedès, *Les États* . . . , pp. 119, 120.

³ *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 182.

⁴ op. cit., p. 93.

⁵ op. cit., fig. 186; *Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India*, 1909-1910, pls. 1-3.

Furthermore, and equally to the point, he unhesitatingly states ¹ of Ásram Mahā Rosei that "the whole effect is remarkably like that of the Pallava temple on the hill at Paṇamalai in Southern India".²

With the resemblance signified by Coomaraswamy I am also impressed, and I may add that there is equally considerable similarity, especially as regards superstructure and finial, to the earlier Bhairava temple of Bhairavakonda.³ Again, it is important to note that the simplicity of the architectural plan characteristic of the simple and intermediate Pre-Angkorian temples is as frequent in early Pallava temples as it is in early Gupta. Indeed, the general plainness of decoration of these Khmer types is reminiscent of the sobriety of the Pallava ornament, which had been less enriched by complex Hellenic forms than was the case further north. The little Śiva shrines of probably seventh century, that I excavated in Kedah,⁴ seem to me closely allied to the type of Pallava building that may have influenced the early Khmer evolution.

It is primarily in view of these considerations that I propose to explain the rich and simple types of Pre-Angkorian architecture as resulting in the main from the effects of two different waves of Indian influence, the Gupta and the Pallava respectively. But, since there was no question of merely imitating the contemporary Indian art, the reserve may legitimately be made that, while the Khmers were for a time responsive to the Pallava pattern as a whole, they preferred to keep the Gupta type of lintel. Mme de Coral demonstrated in detail the Gupta origin of the Khmer lintel, but went too far in concluding that the Khmers would certainly have adopted the Pallava type lintel if they had ever come in contact with Pallava

¹ *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 182.

² *ibid.*, fig. 203.

³ Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture*, *MAI*, 17, pt. 1, pl. xiv b.
JRASMB, vol. xviii, pt. 1, sites 4 and 5.

influences.¹ There is no need for them to have accepted it. Trustworthy analogy, as in the case of the rejection of certain Pāla features by the Indo-Malaysian sculptors, though they assimilated the general character of the Pāla style, suggests that the Khmers might similarly for some reason have rejected the Pallava lintel. One may at least guess that the *kāla-makara* would not have made the strong appeal to the Khmers that it did to the Javanese.

A first class piece of evidence in favour of my proposed solution to the problem has recently become available. The finding of "a whole series of standing Viṣṇus with arch supports and cylindrical mitres" in the same area as the simple type temples, though not actually in them, had been recorded by Parmentier, who thought that they supported the Fu-nan origin of the simple type architecture.² But when later on Dupont took up the thorough study of these images,³ he clearly showed their close affinity to the Pallava style, even though he concluded that only one, a statue of the horse-headed Kalki, dated from as early as the seventh century. Where, then, if not the simple type sanctuaries, are the temples corresponding to these strongly Pallava influenced images to be found?

Parmentier also mentioned the frequency of a naturalistic form of *linga*, with a small face of Śiva, on it, in some of the simple type temples and in the area generally (Śaivism although already present was not so characteristic of the Fu-nan religion), and the common use of the *kūḍu* for decorative purposes. The *somasūtra* and the stones for grinding sandal paste also seemed to him more proper to these shrines. All this fully supports my attribution of the simple type temples to mainly

¹ "De l'origine commune des linteaux de l'Inde Pallava et des linteaux khmers préangkoriens," *RAA*, vol. viii, p. 247.

² "L'Art Presumé de Fou-nan," loc. cit., p. 189.

³ "Viṣṇu mitrés de l'Indochine Occidentale," *BEFEO*, vol. xli, pp. 233-254.

Pallava influences ; and the same opinion has recently been expressed by Professor Nilakanta Sastri.¹

The area in which the simple type temple and the Pallava style images, etc., have been found was seen by Parmentier as corresponding to the central part of the Fu-nan kingdom. That is indeed perfectly true. But it corresponds no less to the centre of the Chen-la kingdom at the period with which we are concerned. Its capital was situated in the first half of the seventh century (reign of Īśānavarman) at Sambor Prei Kuk,² being moved south to Angkor Borei in the following reign, that of Jayavarman I, who also made foundations at old Vyādhapura (Ba Phnom).³ By the beginning of the eighth century the capital had been moved up to Sambor on the Mekong, that is to say the capital of Chen-la of the Water.⁴

On all the evidence above adduced I conclude as follows : The Sambor Prei Kuk temples (among the oldest of the rich type) date from the first half of the seventh century and, like the perhaps somewhat later Bayang, are a development under late Gupta influence of earlier Fu-nan *brick* temples. These probably resembled the Śī T'ep sanctuary tower and certainly may have been similarly provided with false porches since, as we have seen (p. 29), four-porched sanctuary towers were constructed in India as early as the second century A.D. Pallava influences probably arrived in the second half of the seventh century ; and, incidentally, it is to this century that have been ascribed on palæographical grounds the inscriptions borne by two of the simple type temples, although Parmentier is quite right in maintaining that these do not in themselves prove that the temples were not erected earlier. When the

¹ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *South Indian Influences in the Far East*, Bombay, 1949, p. 33.

² Coedès, *Les États . . .*, p. 120.

³ *ibid.*, p. 124.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 149.

Pallava influences were received, the Khmers were generally receptive to the new pattern, though they preferred to keep the Gupta lintel, which they were soon going to modify in their own way. In the earliest Pallava influenced temples, *Aśram Mahā Rosei* and others of the so-called intermediate type, the Gupta roof structure is as yet only partially modified. Interaction naturally occurred between the two temple types. It is this, rather than anteriority of the simple type, as Parmentier supposed,¹ that causes the rich type to show to some extent features that belong primarily to the simple type, but disappear altogether in the Angkorian style.

Evidently the simple type temple did not spread so widely throughout Cambodia as did the rich type; and probably none were built after the end of the seventh century. This perhaps was partly due to emerging Khmer preferences, but it was probably mainly owing to the Pallava stimulus being so much weaker and less sustained than was the case in Java. It is this Pallava influence, being common to both regions, that accounts for the resemblance of *Aśram Mahā Rosei* to some of the central Javanese temples. Had the Pallava influence been more intense and persistent in Cambodia, the Angkorian sanctuary tower might have more closely resembled that of Java's *Lara-Jongrang* than it actually does. It may also be that in Champa a Pallava influenced temple type comparable to *Aśram Mahā Rosei* once existed, but has disappeared without trace. However, that may be, Pallava influence seems to have left no clear mark on the definitive architecture of Champa nor of Angkor. Consequently, in her study of the evolution of Khmer art, Mme de Coral Rémusat was able completely to ignore the simple type of Pre-Angkorian architecture (and its problem).

Nevertheless, we should not underestimate the persistence of Pallava influence in certain respects other

¹ "L'Art Presumé de Fou-nan," loc. cit., p. 186.

than the purely architectural. In sculpture, for instance, the cylindrical mitre lasted throughout the eighth century and influenced the earliest Angkorian style of Kulên. But, as we have seen, it was probably Pallava encouragement of the cult of the *linga*, which had already made a strong appeal to the Khmers, that had the most lasting effect on the evolution of Khmer culture.



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